

# IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 10, NO. 24

MAY 14-20, 1986

\$1.25

## Shacking Up



Mel Rosenthal

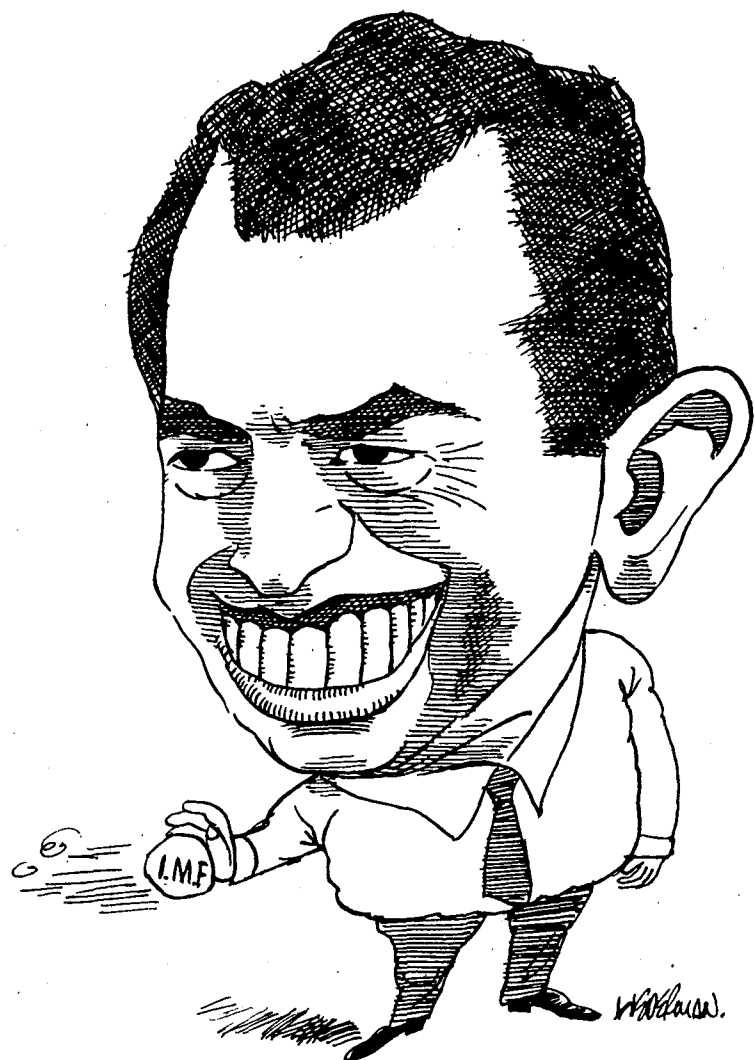
## for DIVESTMENT

**Students build  
case against  
apartheid**

Salim Muwakkil reports  
page 3

DSA's unconventional gathering	5	The summit sets in the East	9
Sanctuary: dispensing (with) justice	6	Alexander Cockburn's gems	12
Honduran Miskito control	7	Hammer-lock rock	14





Current PRD President Salvador Jorge Blanco

## Dominican vote promises little

By David B. Bray & Martin F. Murphy

While Central America boils with fears of direct U.S. intervention, the Caribbean intervention hot spot of 20 years ago, the Dominican Republic, is heading toward a May 16 presidential election that holds little promise of resolving deeply entrenched economic problems. One prominent Dominican politician, José Francisco Peña Gómez, has warned of a renewal of armed struggle in that country if the economic crisis is not solved. In the meantime, polls indicate that the eight-year tenure of the ruling Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) may be coming to an end. The firmly pro-business ideologies of the two presidential front-runners suggests that the U.S. State Department is losing little sleep over the election.

Polls from late March indicate that Joaquín Balaguer, former associate of dictator Rafael Trujillo and president from 1966-78, will probably pull 38 percent of the vote, Jacobo Majluta, the PRD's candidate, is favored by 33 percent, while left-leaning Juan Bosch trails with 18 percent. Joaquín Balaguer is the Richard Nixon of Dominican politics. No matter how many times he appears relegated to history, he bounces back to prominence, now with a refurbished Social Christian ideology grafted onto his Reformist Party, Balaguer, trying to emphasize his "whiteness," represents the most conservative segment of Dominican society—culturally and politically. Though the Dominican Republic is a predominantly black and mulatto society, Balaguer has said that blacks "multiply with a rapidness similar to the vegetable species." Now 79 and legally blind, Balaguer is running on memories of economic prosperity, fueled by high sugar prices, during the early '70s. But many Dominicans remember with bitterness the disappearances of political opponents and the widespread repression that scarred Balaguer's years in office.

The PRD, the standard-bearer of the 1965 revolution, will be hard-pressed to overcome widespread disillusionment. Ironically, this self-styled "party of change" has introduced the economics of International Monetary Fund austerity and shown a disturbing tendency toward repression by killing more than 80 unarmed civilians in the April 1984 food riots. Jacobo Majluta, former vice-president (1978-82) and briefly president after the July 1982 suicide of Antonio Guzmán, is struggling to counter this image as he campaigns against the current lame-duck PRD President Salvador Jorge Blanco. The 52-year-old Majluta, an accountant by training, has specialized in the management of state enterprises and represents the PRD's center-right.

### Santo Domingo's mayor pulls out

The withdrawal from the race of José Francisco Peña Gómez, mayor of the capital city of Santo Domingo and architect of the PRD's Socialist International alliances, has meant that some traditional followers of the PRD, particularly the urban poor, are throwing their support to the 77-year-old Bosch. Thus, the final chapter in the decades-long struggle between the two durable septuagenarians may end with Bosch acting as the spoiler for the PRD, catapulting Balaguer back into office.

Neither Balaguer or Majluta are likely to institute many changes in the Dominican economy, which is burdened by a \$3.2 billion debt and barely noticeable growth rates. The economy is currently reeling under the Reagan administration's successive slashes of U.S. sugar import quotas. In 1984-85 the quota was cut by 16 percent and in 1985-86 an additional 25 percent. This victory for U.S. cane and beet sugar producers has devastated the Dominican Republic.

The cuts have resulted in foreign exchange losses of approximately \$85 million over the last two years for the U.S.' largest foreign supplier of sugar.

These losses have mitigated the gains that lower petroleum prices and higher coffee prices have brought to the economy. The only other game in town has been the tropical trickle-down policies of export diversification promoted in the Reagan administration's Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI). With the encouragement of the CBI, Dominican financial giants like Grupo Financiero Popular and Grupo Economico America and U.S. multinationals are pouring millions of pesos into the cultivation of cantaloupes, peppers, tomatoes, okra, cucumbers and shrimp farming. The U.S.-based United Brands recently announced a \$12 million pineapple project to export fresh fruit and concentrate to the U.S., but the project creates only 840 new jobs. The agro-industrial undertakings are based on massive public sector investments in infrastructure (an estimated \$1 billion in the arid Azua valley), and are capital-intensive in a country whose major comparative advantage is cheap labor. And as critics like the Council on Hemispheric Affairs have pointed out "while visions of cucumbers dance in the heads of AID planners...these nations might more appropriately be growing produce for their own domestic markets."

Besides enthusiastic efforts to provide U.S. consumers with fresh cataloupes in January there is the thus far feeble response to efforts to turn the Dominican Republic into the Taiwan of the Caribbean in the manufacturing sector. Industrial free trade zones, where imported parts and exported commodities are duty-free, have become an essential part of the new economic religion. In the race for the recruitment of assembly manufacturing the Dominican Republic faces stiff global competition but has even more proximate and devastating competition from its island neighbor, Haiti. Haiti's free trade zones which, according to World Bank figures, boast 46 percent cheaper operating costs, flourished under Duvalier with an estimated 60,000 workers, compared to the Dominican Republic's 20,000. And as Dominican industrialist Felipe Vicini has told the *Wall Street Journal*, "Do you know what the industry will do when it finds a cheaper source of labor somewhere else? Just what they did in coming here: they take a wrench and undo four bolts, remove their equipment, crate it up and ship it off."

While none of the presidential candidates, including Bosch, seriously discusses development alternatives, most of the feverish political talk in Santo Domingo has been focused on the question of vice-presidential candidates. Given Balaguer's advanced age and infirmities the question of his second-in-command becomes particularly relevant. As a surprise to virtually all observers of the Dominican political scene Balaguer (reportedly after a lengthy meeting at the U.S. embassy) named businessman Carlos Morales Troncoso as his running mate. Morales, previously inactive in party politics, is cut from the same cloth as the pro-business center-right politicians so beloved by the Reagan administration in Central

## THE STORY INSIDERS

America. His resume includes a degree from Louisiana State University, presidency of the Gulf and Western Dominican business empire and currently manager of the same holdings now under the ownership of the Cuban Fanjul brothers of Florida. Majluta, on the other hand, seems to have further diminished his chances at the presidency by naming a political unknown, Santiago businessman Nicolás Vargas (now known as Nicolás Who?), as his running mate.

The Dominican Republic has had a genuinely remarkable emergence into democratic electoral processes since 23,000 U.S. Marines landed during the April 1965 revolution, but the U.S. and the International Monetary Fund have given the nation only the narrowest possible space to maneuver. The economic situation remains perilously depressed for the rural and urban poor and even some members of the upper middle class have been reduced to taking in boarders. Streams of Dominicans continue to flow to the U.S., in a more measured and airborne version of the Mariel boatlift, to join the estimated 800,000 Dominicans already there. The desire to migrate is so intense that it sometimes seems that the only Dominicans who want to stay are the politicians and the bankers. And unless the presidential candidates can come up with some solutions to the economic problems that go beyond a blind identification with the interests behind the CBI, they may soon be forced to join the migratory stream themselves.

**David B. Bray** is assistant director and visiting assistant professor with the Stone Center for Latin American Studies at Tulane University. **Martin F. Murphy** is assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Notre Dame, former special professor at Universidad Autónoma de Santo Domingo.

## Welcome, Alex

This week, with great pleasure, we are publishing the first installment of "Ashes and Diamonds," a new bi-weekly column by Alexander Cockburn (page 12). Cockburn, for those that don't know of him, is a former columnist for the *Village Voice* in New York and also writes a bi-weekly column on the press for *The Nation*. "Ashes and Diamonds" will review TV news coverage.

©1986  
N7

## IN THESE TIMES

The Independent  
Socialist Newspaper

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657, (312) 472-5700

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

Editor

JAMES WEINSTEIN

Senior Editors Managing Editor  
JOHN B. JUDIS SHERYL LARSON  
DAVID MOBERG (on leave)

Acting Managing Editor/Books Editor  
JEFF REID

Features Editor/Staff Writer  
SALIM MUWAKKIL

Culture Editor

PATRICIA AUFDERHEIDE

European Editor

DIANA JOHNSTONE

California Bureau

(415) 531-7182

JOAN WALSH

Acting Assistant Managing Editor

JEREMIAH CREEDON

In Short Editor

RACHEL STERNBERG

Editorial Assistant

FRIEDA GORDON LANDAU

Copy Assistant

JIM NAURECKAS

Editorial Intern

BILL KRANSDORF

(California Bureau)

Art Director

MILES DE COSTER

Associate Art Director

NICOLE FERENTZ

Assistant Art Director

PETER HANNAN

Statman

PAUL COMSTOCK

Typesetter

JIM RINNERT

Publisher

JAMES WEINSTEIN

Assistant Publisher

RALPH MEDLEY

Co-Business Managers

Finance

LOUIS HIRSCH

Data Processing/Accounting

DONNA THOMAS

Office/Personnel

HANIA RICHMOND

Advertising Director

CYNTHIA DIAZ

Advertising Assistant

BRUCE EMBREY

Receptionist

THERESA NUTALL

Circulation Director

LEENIE FOLSOM

Circulation Manager

GEORGE GORHAM

Fulfillment Manager

DANIEL C. STICCO

Circulation Assistant

DONNA JOHNSON

Telephone Promotions

MARK SEDLACK

Sponsors

Robert Allen, Julian Bond, Noam Chomsky, Barry Commoner, Al Curtis, Hugh DeLacy, Douglas Dowd, David DuBois, Barbara Ehrenreich, Daniel Ellsberg, Barbara Garson, Emily Gibson, Michael Harrington, Dorothy Healey, David Horowitz, Paul Jacobs (1918-1978), Ann J. Lane, Elinor Langer, Jesse Lemisch, Salvador Luria, Staughton Lynd, Carey McWilliams (1905-1980), Jacques Marchand, Herbert Marcuse (1899-1979), David Montgomery, Carlos Munoz, Harvey O'Connor, Earl Ofari, Seymour Posner, Ronald Radosh, Jeremy Rifkin, Paul Schrade, William Sennett, Derek Shearer, Stan Steiner, Warren Susman (1927-1985), E.P. Thompson, Naomi Weisstein, William A. Williams, John Womack, Jr.

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1986 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$47.95 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$3; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657. This issue (Vol. 10, No. 24) published May 14, 1986, for newsstand sales May 14-20, 1986.



By Salim Muwakkil

**T**HE WIDESPREAD AND PASSIONATE support given the campus divestment movement has surprised supporters and critics alike, prompting comparisons to the anti-war movement that disrupted college campuses a generation ago. Demonstrations demanding that colleges dump their investments in companies tied to South Africa have been more frequent since last spring. In a little more than a year, it seems, the image of college students has been transformed from that of apolitical aspiring yuppies, to that of committed (albeit naive) opponents of South Africa's apartheid system.

The continuing appeal of the movement was demonstrated most recently during a period from March 23 to April 6, dubbed the "Weeks of Anti-Apartheid Action" by the American Committee on Africa (ACOA). According to the ACOA, a group with a 20-year involvement in the anti-apartheid movement, pro-divestment activities took place on more than 100 campuses in 35 states. On at least 15 campuses, students erected mock shantytowns to represent the living conditions of most South Africans and to indicate their empathy for those conditions. These symbolic structures have captured the media's attention and have helped popularize the movement.

The momentum generated by the "Weeks" has carried over. Students (and some faculty) at the University of Maryland, Johns Hopkins, Harvard, Wisconsin, Yale and other schools around the country are engaged in direct action protests of their institutions' economic relationship to South Africa. In one highly unusual example, the faculty senate of the sedate University of Chicago met recently and endorsed a resolution calling on the school's trustees to begin a process of divestment. This was only the second time the faculty group had met as a deliberative body—the first time was during a controversy about students and the Selective Service during the Vietnam-tainted '60s.

### Year-end protests

As the school year comes to an end students are stepping up their pro-divestment demonstrations. Several alternative graduation ceremonies (see In Short, page 4) are planned and, according to Hudita Mustafa of ACOA, a large rally is scheduled for June 14. Anti-apartheid activity has had a successful run on college campuses this year. But the question remains: is it just the hip thing to do for the mid-'80s, or does it mean that the next generation of U.S. leaders may be less willing to tolerate racism?

Opposition to South African apartheid is "a morally unambiguous issue," says Todd Gitlin, a Berkeley sociologist and longtime student of protest movements, who argues its lack of ambiguity provides a "safe" protest movement that's distanced from the students' everyday concerns. "It touches on the race issue, which is still a sore point and has yet to be solved in this country, and it does it in a way that makes it less complex." Students also have the perception that since their schools have a stake in South Africa, they can do something to influence foreign policy, Gitlin maintains.

They certainly have influenced business policy. Since the first National Divestment Protest Day on April 4, 1985, 53 schools have taken some divestment action. And although the campus movement for divestment had its first success in 1977 with Hampshire College and the University of Massachusetts, only 31 schools had divested themselves between '77 and '85. But the pace of activity has increased geometrically in the last year.

### Passengers on the bandwagon

The shift in the national mood in favor of South African divestment has the characteristics of a rolling bandwagon, a vehicle



Student-built shantytowns at Columbia, and around the nation, symbolize the links between racism at home and away.

## Building on divestment chic

that invariably attracts some unlikely passengers. Gregory Fossedale, a conservative commentator and Hoover Institution fellow, now contends his fellow believers "have been in error about South Africa." Writing in the May 1986 edition of *The American Spectator*, Fossedale urges conservatives to support the anti-apartheid movement, noting "...as we are for democracy in Russia and Vietnam and Nicaragua, we may as well be for democracy in South Africa. And, as we favor concrete pressures on those governments, we ought to favor them on Pretoria."

Fossedale's support for anti-apartheid activities seems to be a strictly utilitarian affair; he's using his opposition to South African apartheid to bolster arguments for the Reagan administration's interventionist foreign policy. Fossedale, remember, is a co-founder of the *Dartmouth Review*, the right-wing publication that was deeply involved in a celebrated demolition of a shantytown on the Dartmouth campus (see *In*

*These Times*, March 12-18, 1986) and, as such, has become a symbol of opposition to the anti-apartheid struggle.

Fossedale's strategic conversion not only reveals the moral cachet the divestment movement has acquired, it also discloses the great fuzziness at the heart of the movement. If Fossedale can equate the counter-revolutionary movements in Angola and Nicaragua to the anti-apartheid struggle, it's clear the divestment movement has failed to sharpen the necessary distinctions. In order to do this, it has to appraise the problems of South Africa with increased analytical rigor.

The Reagan administration is providing weapons to UNITA and the *contras* with the goal of seizing power in Angola and Nicaragua, respectively. The divestment movement, however, advocates removal of a portion of apartheid's economic underpinnings, which is quite a different undertaking, and one that doesn't address the question of what to do if South African whites simply refuse to change their racist ways.

Divestment supporters treat such questions with condescension and dismiss them as diverting. They insist that divestment will increase the cost of maintaining the apartheid system and thus impel whites to negotiate with legitimate black leadership. And anyway, they say, a widely-reported poll in the *Sunday Times* of London revealed that nearly 80 percent of the black South Africans surveyed favor divestment. Additionally, the country's largest black trade unions, political organizations and major church groups also endorse divestment. If black South Africans themselves, favor divestment, advocates ask, who are we to argue?

Those who oppose divestment contend it may hurt rather than help South Africa's blacks. "It would be morally irresponsible for constructive forces to retreat from the South African scene," says Jesse Hay, a regents official in the University of Texas system. "It is the right thing—the righteous thing—for American companies to be there trying to effect change, trying to make working conditions better for the blacks, which in fact they are doing."

Although pro-divestment forces are quick to dismiss such arguments as rationalizations for racism, similar arguments have been made by officials of predominantly black colleges.

In quantitative terms, the economic impact of divestment would be miniscule. American corporations hold only four percent of South Africa's total investment and American universities hold only a small fraction of those shares. What's more, the campus divestment movement barely affects the fortunes of the corporations themselves. If a university decides to sell all of its stock in companies with South African connections, someone else will buy them.

And even if the movement succeeds in convincing U.S. corporations to disinvest in South Africa, would the native black population be better for the effort? (Selling stock in South African-linked countries is called divestment or divestiture; when corporations leave South Africa altogether that is called disinvestment.) The latest financial difficulties suffered by the country were disproportionately felt in South Africa's segregated black townships, where riots broke out to protest unemployment and food shortages. And where police clamped down with naked brutality.

"The case for complete divestment does not rest on a vision of causal chain that stretches from the University of Chicago to Pretoria," reads a report outlining the University of Chicago faculty's case for divestment. "Rather it has to do with the assertion of a moral position which places this university in the company of over 40 institutions of higher learning, 16 state governments, 54 U.S. cities, and a number of counties and trade unions... By adding its name to this protest against the policies of apartheid, Chicago would be contributing to the formation of a world opinion which might conceivably help to bring an end to the oppression and bloodshed in South Africa."

### The Spelman dilemma

Trustees at Spelman College, a private black college for women in Atlanta, re-

*Continued on page 8*



# IN SHORT

Rachel Sternberg

## Indianola resolved

Protesters demanding a black school board superintendent in Indianola, Miss., finally got their way. W.A. Grissom, a white, resigned from the post on April 30, accepting a \$90,000 buy-out of his three-year contract after more than a month of uproar in this racially divided town (see *In These Times*, April 30). One day later, the school board voted unanimously to hire Richard Merritt in his place. Merritt is the black principal who has enjoyed widespread support among the black parents whose children fill more than 90 percent of Indianola's public classrooms. Merritt says his number-one priority will be "pulling the community back together."

## Last stand

Don't be surprised if commencements this spring at campuses across the country are mocked by counter-commencements—staged by students to protest policies pertaining the Central America, the nuclear arms race and South African apartheid, just to name a few. Students at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor got a head start on May 3 with a mock ceremony—three hours prior to the official one—that drew 400 people, including about two dozen faculty members. Participants granted their own honorary "degree" to Nelson Mandela, the long-imprisoned black South African leader of the outlawed African National Congress. The university had refused to do so on the grounds that honorary degrees cannot be granted *in absentia*. Meanwhile, down in Durham, N.C., students at Duke University called off their counter-commencement at the last minute because Duke's board of trustees voted unexpectedly to divest. The timing of the vote was by no means dismissed as a coincidence.

## Haymarket works

Picking up the Haymarket torch, 75 trade unionists met in Chicago on May Day to reestablish a network that will fight for a shorter work week. The National Labor Committee for Full Employment and a Shorter Work Week wants to reduce the standard week from 40 hours to 32, with double pay for time beyond that and no compulsory overtime. The committee aims to triple its membership within the next 12 months and throw strong support behind a bill proposed by U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) that would amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.

## Populists enlist

Close upon the heels of the Rainbow Coalition convention and the New Directions conference comes the debut of the New Populist Forum. The question of course is: Who are the populists? The label originally belonged to a rural movement against East Coast banking and corporate interests in the late 1800s. In recent years it has been usurped by Reagan Republicans. But not completely. In 1983, progressive members of Congress created a Populist Caucus. Its 28 members include Rep. Lane Evans (D-IL), Sen. Tom Harkin (D-IA) and Sen. Paul Simon (D-IL). Some of the same people created the New Populist Forum with the help of Texas Agricultural Commissioner Jim Hightower. Aimed at office-holders in the nation's capital, the May 9 conference, "Populist '86: Left or Right?" seeks to solidify the left wing of the Democratic Party.

## Collated conferences

Importers of Nicaraguan coffee and other Third-World food and craft products are holding a National Alternative Trading Workshop on June 13-14 at Loyola-Marymount University in Los Angeles where they will discuss what they call "just" marketing and production strategies. The American Friends Service Committee is sponsoring a national conference May 30-June 1 called "Across the Abyss: New Opportunities, New Visions for United States-Soviet Relations." It will take place at Simpson College in Des Moines, Iowa. And Gay and Lesbian parents will meet in Chicago on June 6-8 for the 7th Annual Conference on Gay and Lesbian Parenting Issues.

## Great expectations

Determined to win friends and influence people, about 500 protesters last week visited Michael Deaver in his Washington, D.C., office. These were low- and moderate-income community organizers from a left-leaning nationwide coalition called National People's Action (NPA)—not Deaver's usual cocktail crowd. They asked the former deputy White House chief of staff, now a brazen lobbyist, to deliver a letter to President Reagan. Deaver, apparently taken by surprise, agreed. The letter proposes a federal budget that would cut \$100 billion in waste and fraud from military spending, \$120 billion in "corporate welfare" subsidies and tax loopholes and \$24 billion in tax shelters for the rich. NPA asserts that the resulting sum could eliminate the entire deficit and still leave \$100 billion for economic and social programs.

Readers are encouraged to send news clips, interesting reports, eye-opening memos or short articles to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Please include your address and telephone number.



Dr. Helen Caldwell, a resident emeritus of Physicians for Social Responsibility, speaking at the April 12 rally at Seabrook. It may have been the last rally for Caldwell, who is reportedly retiring from the nuclear freeze movement.

Lionel Delvingne

## Anti-nuke cloud settles on East Coast

Well before the Chernobyl nuclear accident, New Englanders were stepping up their resistance to the opening of the Seabrook Nuclear Plant, the first such generator in New Hampshire. Some 3,000 people attended an April 12 rally held by the No Nukes/No Dumps Committee. The Public Service Company of New Hampshire (PSNH), a principal shareholder in the plant, plans to load fuel into its reactor in early July. Opponents, however, believe that the nuclear plant, located on the New Hampshire coast just a mile from Massachusetts, is unsafe and should not go on line.

"Nuclear proponents in the U.S. say an accident could never happen here," says Renny Cushing, a resident of Seabrook and a member of New Hampshire's anti-nuke Clamshell Alliance. "They point out that U.S. reactors have thick concrete containment to retain radiation in case of an accident. But workers at the Seabrook plant, although they are afraid to come out publicly, have told us the containment at Seabrook is like Swiss cheese because of bad concrete pours."

PSNH and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) deny that the plant poses any threat. "Whatever has been found deficient has been fixed," says an NRC spokesman. Critics, however, say that the NRC is ruthlessly determined to get the plant on line.

Also worrisome to residents are the state's emergency plans. At a public hearing April 19 called by Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis, hundreds of citizens and elected officials from New Hampshire and six Massachusetts towns condemned the plans as unworkable. They say the road system within the designated 10-mile radius would not allow evacuation of year-round residents, let alone summertime beach dwellers. Moreover, the plans assume that radiation harmful to humans would stop at the 10-mile mark. The company goes on to define a 50-mile "ingestion zone" within which water and foodstuffs would be monitored.

Both Dukakis and New Hampshire Gov. John Sununu must submit emergency plans to the Federal Emergency Management Agency. These

are then tested and forwarded to the NRC, which grants the operating permit. Sununu already has given his approval despite local objections. Dukakis, meanwhile, is waffling. Tom Maughan, a former aide to a senator from the evacuation zone, seems to voice the opinion of many local residents when he accuses Dukakis of being afraid to anger big business for fear of damaging his long-term presidential ambitions.

New Englanders have also been up in arms over the proposed siting of a permanent repository for high-level nuclear waste. The proposed sites include two in Maine and one in southwestern New Hampshire bordering Massachusetts and Vermont. Last month, 64 New Hampshire towns voted against both the production and disposal of high-level nuclear waste in their state.

The Clamshell Alliance is planning a rally and non-violent civil disobedience at the Seabrook plant on May 24. NRC hearings on the evacuation plans are scheduled for this summer.

—Sharon Tracy

## Animal rights workers camp out at NIH

The undetermined fate of 15 monkeys has become something of a *cause celebre* for animal rights advocates. Ever since 1981, when People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) blew the whistle on an improper medical experiment funded with federal dollars, the rescued monkeys have been in the custody of the National Institutes of Health (NIH). Now PETA, culminating five years of effort in their behalf, has pitched a tent on NIH grounds, gathered signatures from 135 members of Congress and vowed to hold a vigil until NIH lets the monkeys go.

NIH claims it cannot because the monkeys still belong to the Institute for Behavioral Research (IBR), the now-defunct lab that conducted the research. Back in 1981, IBR used a \$221,000 NIH grant to purchase the monkeys and conduct its spinal cord injury experiments. After PETA pointed to gross violations of federal guidelines, the monkeys

were seized by police and the NIH terminated its grant to IBR. In the first and only such prosecution to date, IBR researcher Edward Taub was found guilty of cruelty to animals. The conviction later was overruled on jurisdictional grounds.

PETA argues that NIH could release the monkeys if it wanted to because IBR failed to comply with the terms of its NIH grant. They also point out that NIH continues to pay \$30,000 a year to house the monkeys. PETA, which has sued to gain custody of the monkeys, wants them let out of their steel cages and moved to a private animal sanctuary in Texas.

"The main problem is that experimenters and the NIH don't want to let them out," says Lori Gruen, research director for PETA. "That would set a bad precedent. Experimenters want to keep the public out. They want to be free of scrutiny."

The Silver Spring monkeys,

as they are now dubbed, have become a symbol for both sides of the dispute. Medical researchers, who experiment with tens of millions of animals each year at some 800 federally-funded research facilities, defend the practice by noting past medical advances derived from it. Animal rights advocates, on the other hand, say 200 years of animal experimentation is enough, and that most of the experiments are now unnecessary. They advocate the development of non-violent research methods, such as cell and tissue culturing and computer modeling. The millions spent on animal experiments each year, they say, should instead go toward disease prevention and early detection. "The public impression that we need animal experimentation is based on a misconception," Gruen says. "It has outlived its usefulness. We are no longer finding new information."



By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

**I**N THE LATE '70S, LEFT-WING DEMOCRATS were a distinct faction demanding to be heard. They had organizations—the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee's Democratic Agenda and the United Auto Workers' Progressive Alliance, to name only the two most prominent—and they had conferences. In Washington, hardly a month would go by without one.

Ronald Reagan's landslide victory in 1980, the AFL-CIO's attempt to achieve consensus politics within its ranks and the eclipse of the Democratic midterm convention cast a pall over the Democratic left. Both Democratic Agenda and the Progressive Alliance were folded, and plans for new national organizations were set aside. No more conferences were convened—the last that I attended was a conference on "progressive economics" in January 1984.

But the Democratic left has returned to Washington. Last month, the Rev. Jesse Jackson assembled his Rainbow Coalition in Washington; and last week, Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), the successor to the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, attracted more than 1000 Democrats to a conference on New Directions. Jackson's conference was intended to provide him with an organization for his next presidential bid, but the purpose for the New Directions conference was less evident.

### Back on the map

According to Harrington, co-chairman of DSA, the group organized the New Directions conference in order to "get the Democratic left on the map again." It also wanted to revive DSA's diminished presence. "I have no illusion that we are going to lead the left wing of the Democratic Party," Harrington said, "but I wanted to show that we existed." Noting that both the *Washington Post* and *The New York Times* had written articles on the conference, Harrington believed that these purposes had been accomplished.

The conference, held May 2-4 at Washington's cavernous Convention Center, was highlighted by the appearance of Jackson and several prominent labor leaders. Some of these labor leaders like American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees' Gerald McEntee and the Communications Workers of America's (CWA) Morton Bahr had not identified themselves previously with the kinds of causes espoused at the New Directions conference. Steelworkers President Lynn Williams, who spoke on Friday night along with Jackson, is a veteran of Canada's New Democratic Party, but his union had previously hewed to the center-right of AFL-CIO politics. The enthusiastic participation of these unions—in Washington, the conference was organized out of the CWA president's office—indicated that the labor movement is once again becoming receptive to left Democratic politics. It also suggests, conference organizers admitted, a desperate search for allies.

Many of the participants at the conference were enthusiastic. Joe Schwartz, a Harvard graduate student and DSA leader, thought that a Friday meeting between Jackson and the Steelworkers' officials, held after Jackson's talk, itself justified the conference. Jan Rosenberg, a sociologist from Long Island University, was excited by the "new consensus on domestic issues" that she detected at the conference. But there was also some grumbling. One East Coast Democrat, who spoke at the conference, complained that New Directions was the "worst of two possible worlds. There was no political strategy, on the one hand, and there was no real intellectual discussion on the other."

### Economic program

If there was a substantive purpose of the conference, it was to outline an economic program for the Democrats in 1986 and 1988. To some extent, it succeeded in doing so. Many of the best left-wing economists were present, including Harvard's Robert Reich, *New Republic* columnist Robert Kuttner, and Jeff Faux of the Economic Policy Institute. Faux spoke for many of the

conference participants when he said, "I think we ought to stop beating our breasts and saying we don't know what to do. We've got the building blocks of a new economic program."

The conference's economic platform could be summed up in a foundation and five planks. The foundation, stated repeatedly by the speakers, was that, in Robert Reich's words, "the only way we can achieve economic growth is through social justice." This Keynesian assumption—borne out, in the speakers' opinion, by the experience of Western European social democratic governments—runs counter to the prevailing Republican and Democratic view that there must be a trade-off between social justice and economic growth.

The four planks of the conference platform were something like this:

- The economy should be stimulated, and jobs created, by rapidly increasing the money supply. If inflation develops, price controls should be introduced in order to stem it.

- To prevent a rush of imports at the expense of exports, the U.S. should control investment through an "industrial policy" designed to protect beleaguered industries like steel and to encourage industries to become competitive.

- To help stimulate the economy and improve the lot of the poor, the minimum wage should be increased, a progressive income tax should be reinstituted and spending should be shifted from military to social uses.

- To increase productivity, greater worker participation and ownership should be encouraged.

While the speakers expressed scorn for "neo-liberal" and "new Republican" economics, their own proposals clearly bore the mark of the Reagan era and of the failure of Francois Mitterrand's initial economic program. No one proposed nationalizing industries. Instead, they

talked like Faux of "managing" the economy or like Reich of obtaining "quid pro quos" from business in return for subsidies. Speakers who proposed stimulating the economy also noted—with a nod toward France—that in doing so the U.S. would have to avoid a flood of imports. Few speakers called for elaborate new welfare programs like national health insurance. Instead, they focused on increasing the minimum wage. And except when stated by Harrington himself, the demand for full employment became a rhetorical goal rather than an extensive government jobs program.

The central assumption of the left Democrat's program could be mistaken. The Keynesian strategy of economic growth through social justice, whether in the U.S. or Western Europe, may have depended upon a rapidly growing world market for Western goods. But it is an assumption that can, and probably will, be tested by the next Democratic administration.

The only serious flaw in the discussion was the emphasis to the point of obsession on the Frost Belt and heavy industry. Every speaker rose to protect America's steel industry—a stance with which there should be no disagreement—but no speaker in the plenary sessions discussed the kind of industries that could make the U.S. competitive in the world economy. On this score, the speakers might have learned something from the neo-liberals or even Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-GA). When I asked one of the conference organizers why Fred Branfman, who runs Gary Hart's think-tank, was not speaking, she said without blinking, "This conference is about economics. And he wanted to speak about high technology."

### Silent majority

Some of the conference was also devoted to an assessment of the left's political prospects. There were two competing views of

**Top:** United Steelworkers President Lynn Williams, Jesse Jackson and DSA Co-Chairman Michael Harrington. **Below:** Americans for Democratic Action National Director Ann Lewis, Gloria Steinem and Communications Workers of America President Morton Bahr.

the present political situation—one wildly optimistic and the other deeply pessimistic.

Many speakers at the conference, citing recent polling data, insisted that the U.S. had not turned to the right over the last decade. Sociologist Frances Fox Piven found that Americans have become "increasingly hostile toward business" and that "Americans understand the roles of the public sector in humanizing the rapacious capitalist system." Ms. editor Gloria Steinem one-upped Piven by declaring that according to her data Ronald Reagan's popularity was a "myth."

Piven, Steinem and others concluded that the majority of Americans supported the same programs that they did. Steinem thought that the Democratic left's program could remain intact if the rhetoric were changed. Casting doubt upon the inherent unpopularity of busing, Steinem exclaimed, "It's a privilege for white children to be bused."

Piven had a more complex theory of why American public opinion had not asserted itself. Piven's answer was that "American electoral arrangements make voting more difficult." Against any evidence I have ever seen, Piven suggested that if those who did not vote voted the results of elections would vindicate the left Democrats. Piven's program for getting rid of the Reagans and the Kemps is, therefore, to register voters.

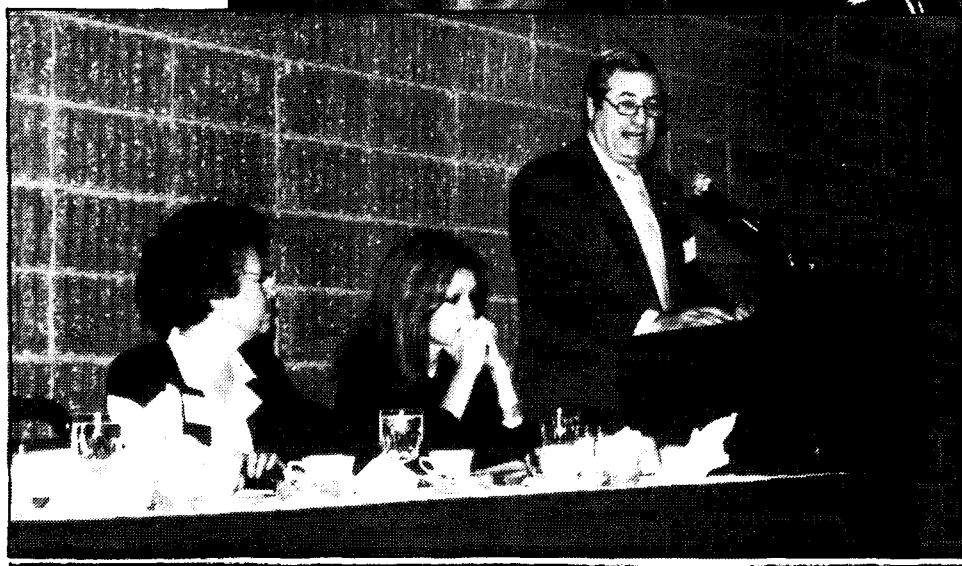
Some in the DSA and Democratic left leadership do not buy Piven's or Steinem's analysis. They sketch a darker view in which neither a Democratic Senate victory in 1986 nor a presidential victory in 1988 is assured. In the political hopes they place on the next recession, they appear to envision the present on the model of the '20s, when it took the Great Depression to undermine Republican hegemony and to provide the Democrats with new leadership. As Jeff Faux stated in his speech, they see themselves developing an economic platform so that the next Franklin Roosevelt will "know what to do." Joe Schwartz suggested that the Democrats would be better off losing in 1988. "Then the Republicans can be in office when the structural economic crisis occurs," he said.

but it encourages an unwarranted passivity toward politics. Where Piven and Steinem are correct is that among active Democrats—those most likely to vote in local and state elections and in primaries—left-wing Democratic views are highly representative, if not in a majority. After all, in 1984, each of three main Democrats, Mondale, Jackson, and Hart, had been identified with the party's left and accepted most of its program. Democratic moderates like Ohio Sen. John Glenn were knocked out of the primaries after New Hampshire. The Democratic left, if organized properly, stands a chance of influencing Democratic

*Continued on page 8*

## IN THE NATION

Roger Robinson



Roger Robinson

## POLITICS

# New Directions for the Democratic left



By Dennis Bernstein &amp; Connie Blitt

TUCSON, AZ

**A** MIDNIGHT BULLET IN THE HEAD of her pastor was Sister Darlene Nicgorski's first taste of justice Guatemalan style. The Milwaukee-born Franciscan fled Guatemala, where she had established a pre-school, and crossed the border to southern Mexico, working for a year in refugee camps crowded with Guatemalan Indians and peasants. During her stay, Nicgorski heard and recorded the stories of a people whose suffering often transcended words. "It's sad I can't remember the specific stories anymore," she said. "After a while, one story melts into the next. The army came and killed. The army came and burned our animals, our crops and our people."

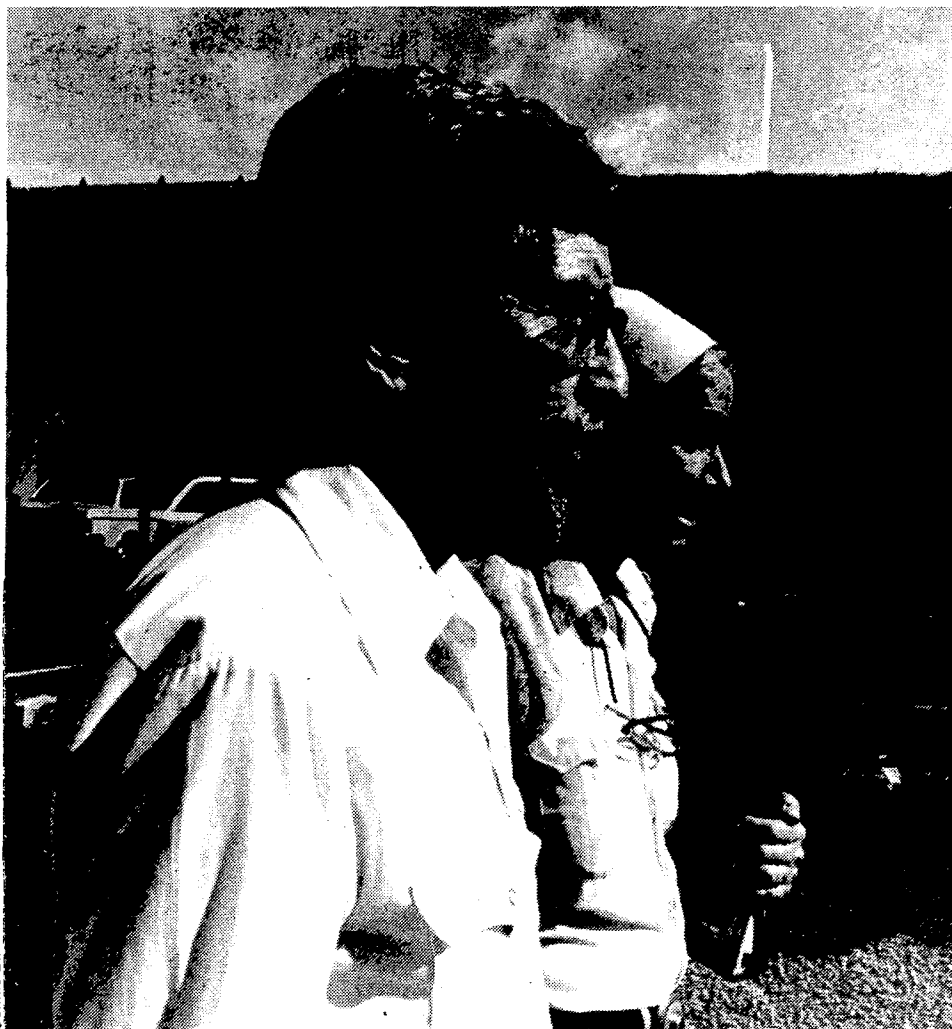
In 1982 she returned to the United States and began to speak out against U.S. sponsorship of the military in Guatemala and El Salvador, and she was given her second taste of justice, by U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which had indicted Nicgorski and 10 other clergy and lay church workers on charges of harboring, transporting and conspiring to smuggle undocumented Central Americans into the U.S.

Their tense, six-month trial culminated on May Day. Eight of the 11 defendants, including Nicgorski, were convicted of 16 felony counts and two misdemeanors. Some of them face jail and \$18,000 in fines.

"Our government has called us criminals," said Nicgorski to reporters and hundreds of supporters at a press conference, "yet it is this administration that violates the U.S. Refugee Act of 1980 and the U.N. Protocol Accords of 1967. Our government indicts us for conspiracy, yet our government conspires to suppress the right of Central Americans to determine their own future. Our government has found some of us guilty of transporting, yet our government has transported 30,000 refugees in three years back to their homelands to face possible torture and death."

After the verdict was announced, Michael Altman, attorney for Sister Darlene Nicgorski, was furious. He asserted that the judge had taken away "every defense we had in the world."

Words like "torture" and "refugee" were two of the many initially forbidden from use in Judge Earl H. Carroll's courtroom. "We couldn't even use the word 'life' at some points," explained defense attorney Karen Snell, "because that was considered too close to 'death,' and then you were talking about something horrible that you couldn't talk about. So it got to be almost a joke where the attorneys would have to say 'did something awfully bad happen to you' instead of 'were you imprisoned and tortured.'"



James Corbett, a sanctuary movement founder, was cleared of alien-smuggling charges.

## SANCTUARY

# Justice scaled down in Tucson verdict

"The only thing we could do in this non-sanctuary trial," declared Altman, a University of Arizona law professor, "is present a non-sanctuary defense and appeal to the basic good spirits of the jury." According to Altman, the defense's decision to call no witnesses was based on the hope that the jury would find what he believed were serious flaws in the prosecutor's case, or that the jury would discover independently their power of jury nullification. Jury nullification is the power of the jury to apply their own sense of morality and disregard the letter of the law if they decide a crime was committed for a higher good.

While prosecutor Reno held a press conference in which he thanked God for the jury, several jurors were expressing mixed emotions. "We didn't walk out of there feeling good," said one juror, who asked to be anonymous. "I think it was unanimous that we didn't want to find these people guilty."

Juror David McCrea commented, "I think we did follow the laws, but if there was justice done or not, I'm not sure."

### Political motivations

When the indictments were first handed down in January 1985, refugee advocates hoped that the INS's discriminatory asylum policies would have their day in court. But before opening arguments began in Tucson, Judge Carroll barred a defense based on refugee or international law, or any mention of religious beliefs and humanitarian motives that may have inspired the 11 defendants to shelter refugees. The only question the judge wanted discussed was whether these people conspired to break immigration laws.

"Many judges," said noted attorney William Kunstler, "want to restrict a trial that is politically motivated to the bare bones of a criminal prosecution. That's always the device."

Kunstler's assertion is substantiated by the phone call INS special prosecutor Donald M. Reno received from D. Lowell Jensen, second in command at the U.S. Justice Department, immediately following the sanctuary verdict and before Reno announced at a victory press conference that "this is the precedent-setting case, it goes right to the heart of the movement."

The trial was conceived by the Reagan administration, said Peggy Hutchison, one of the convicted defendants, to tie up resources with a lengthy legal battle, and to criminalize the work of the sanctuary advocates in the eyes of the public. "People think we must have done something wrong for the government to send informants into the churches, to do this long undercover operation and to bring an indictment and call a grand jury," Hutchison said. Nominated by *Good Housekeeping* as one of America's 100 most promising young women in 1985, she now faces five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

### Refugees take the stand

When the Central American refugees were called by the government to testify about aid the 11 defendants gave them, the prosecutor and judge found that ordering them to separate the mechanics of getting to this coun-

try from the violence they had suffered in El Salvador and Guatemala was like attempting to pull an atom away from its nucleus.

Guatemalan Miriam Hernandez and her one-month-old baby were arrested in defendant Wendy Le Win's apartment by the INS when the indictments were handed down. Hernandez told her lawyer she was afraid to testify because she could be deported or her family in Guatemala could be identified and harmed. On the stand, she broke down under questioning from the prosecutor. The jury was hurriedly dismissed and emergency medics were called to the scene.

The looming possibility of deportation put the refugees under great pressure to testify against the sanctuary workers. Prosecutor Reno's recommendations in an individual's file weighs heavily on INS deportation decisions.

In order to secure refugee testimony for the government, sanctuary infiltrator Jesus Cruz lied to some prospective refugee-witnesses. After he transported them from Tucson to Phoenix, Cruz maintained contact with refugees, dropping by for a meal or an offer to drive them on errands. Before they were to testify he asked them to come to INS headquarters where he would arrange for them to get a work permit. They were given instead an "order to show cause" form, the first step in the deportation process. Not knowing how to read English, many of them believed they had signed a work permit until informed otherwise by defense attorneys.

Jose Ruben Torres of El Salvador testified that he had been promised a work permit if he would take the stand as a government witness. He said INS agents told him all he had to do was "tell the truth." And that he would be shown papers, supposedly transcripts of INS interviews with him, to guide his testimony. When defense attorneys asked him if the government had shown Torres the transcripts, he answered, "They showed me papers, the thing is they haven't shown me any papers with the truth on them."

Defense attorneys were prevented from comparing Torres' testimony in court with his original statement to the INS, because the tape and transcript of his initial interview were missing from INS files. Defense attorneys charged this was one of six tapes and transcripts of witness interviews that suspiciously disappeared from the hands of chief INS investigator James Rayburn. Concluding a special hearing on the missing information from Torres' file, Judge Carroll called the government's actions "inattentive and negligent," but no punitive measure was taken.

"If they're going to indict Mexican nationals and have most of the trial in Spanish, which this one was," commented defense attorney James Brosnahan, "you really do need someone who is open-minded on the subject of Hispanic people. I think the judge has a very serious problem in that regard."

Brosnahan listed numerous examples of what he termed the judge's "cultural perception problem," which others labeled racism.

During the testimony of the first refugee-witness, Alejandro Rodriguez, Judge Carroll found Rodriguez' refusal to limit his responses to one-word answers and his references to torture frustrating. The judge commented in an aside with the lawyers, "I think people from Latin America perhaps have a difficulty in just answering 'yes' or 'no'." The defense filed a motion asking Judge Carroll to step down from the case because of bias. He denied their motion.

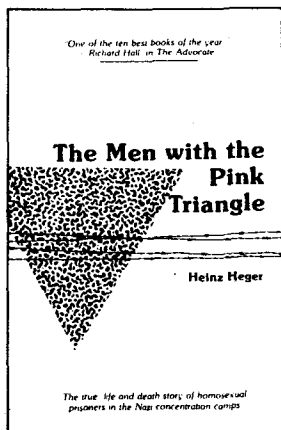
Yet the "hidden agenda" of the U.S. government to "discredit and silence" the sanctuary movement through the use of covert investigations and federal indictments has already backfired in the court of public opinion and is creating martyrs for the cause.

Quaker James Corbett—a founding member of the sanctuary movement, and one of three acquitted by the Tucson jury—said that "we will continue to provide sanctuary services openly and go to trial as often as is necessary to establish the legality, or more directly, to actualize the Nuremberg mandate that the protection of human rights is never illegal."

**Dennis Bernstein and Connie Blitt have covered the Tucson trial for *In These Times*.**

**Thousands of men wore the pink triangle. Only one has ever told his story.**

In *The Men with the Pink Triangle*, Heinz Heger tells his true, life and death story as a homosexual prisoner in the Nazi concentration camps.



## The Men with the Pink Triangle

\$5.95 in bookstores, or clip this ad to order

☐ Enclosed is \$6.50 (postpaid) for *The Men with the Pink Triangle*.

name \_\_\_\_\_ address \_\_\_\_\_  
city \_\_\_\_\_ state \_\_\_\_\_ zip \_\_\_\_\_

**Alyson Publications**, Dept. P-67, 40 Plympton St., Boston, MA 02118



By William Gasperini

MOCORON, HONDURAS

**E**ARLY ON THE MORNING OF MARCH 25, mortar explosions rent the air in the Miskito Indian village of Bilwaskarma on the Coco River, which forms the Nicaraguan-Honduran border. The sudden attack stunned the 700 villagers, who are among some 10,000 Miskitos who have returned since last year to rebuild communities forcibly evacuated in 1982.

"All I heard were loud explosions, and as dawn approached I could see Sandinista troops bombarding the schoolhouse," said Guillermo Chow bitterly. "We thought the KISAN 'muchachos' [boys] were there, but none were. Now we have had to flee again."

The attack and two others later that day in the neighboring villages of Wasla and Kum triggered another mass exodus of the long-suffering Miskitos, this time north across the river into Honduras instead of south deeper into Nicaragua. Within two days, 8,000 Miskito and 200 Sumu refugees had crossed the serpentine river and hiked through thick swamps to temporary camps administered by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

What had happened? Ten months before, in May 1985, a cease-fire between the Sandinistas and Miskito fighters allowed former inhabitants to resettle along the river. By late summer a new Miskito group emerged: KISAN, which means "unity" in the Miskito language, was originally formed in an effort to unite several factions. Some KISAN members supported the peace; others, however, opposed both the cease-fire and negotiations with the Nicaraguan government, a position bolstered by U.S. aid. A new round of conflicts ensued, leading over several months to the Sandinista attack on Mocoron.

After the violence in March the Miskitos found themselves once again uprooted. While there was no doubt that government troops had attacked (dozens of refugees spoke of seeing heavy tanks), the key question in this new drama was what, or who, provoked the fighting.

The Honduran press quickly zeroed in on "brutal Sandinista assaults against the Miskito people." KISAN leader Roger Herman said his men had responded to fire, and accused the Sandinistas of killing civilians after several mortar rounds fell in Wasla.

Managua immediately charged that KISAN and the CIA planned the attacks to disrupt the peace process on the Atlantic coast. The rebels' presence and activity in the area quickly became the prime issue in determining what had occurred.

While admitting that KISAN combatants frequently entered the village, most refugees scoffed at the Sandinista charges. Few hid their open sympathies for the rebels.

"KISAN would come into town, but never in large groups or to stay," said one person. "They would come to visit their families, and their presence was no reason for the Sandinistas to attack as they did."

Others disputed this contention, saying the rebels did have a major encampment in the Bilwaskarma school and in a military post near Wasla formerly occupied by Sandinista forces. Several refugees said that KISAN had fired on Sandinista positions outside the villages in the weeks preceding the attacks, and went into villages in groups of up to 200.

#### Over and back

"Once the Sandinistas fired at them we hid across the river and came back three days later to see about returning," said Teodoro Gomez of Wasla. "The Sandinistas told us it was all over and we could come back. But across the river KISAN prevented anyone from doing that."

By then dozens of other communities had fled in panic, prodded by the rebels to the point that the Sandinistas accused KISAN of wholesale kidnapping.

"KISAN came and said we had to cross into Honduras, because the Sandinistas were coming to kill us," said one woman from an upriver community, cooking beans over a small fire in the muddy refugee camp

near Mocoron. Relief officials, however, doubted the common refugee version of an unprovoked Sandinista attack.

"All we know is that battles occurred, and the people fled," said a U.N. relief official. "We heard their stories of mortars falling and the killing of civilians. At the same time, we know rumors run rampant with the Miskitos, and that an armed political group allied with people seeking to

and five days after the Nicaraguans entered Honduras, attacking an FDN *contra* training camp in El Paraiso province.

• After the Miskito exodus began, Washington apparently sought to make the most of it, with Vice President George Bush set to visit one temporary refugee center accompanied by dozens of foreign journalists in Honduras to cover the Paraiso incident. He never came, as poor visibility delayed

## CENTRAL AMERICA

# Miskito Exodus II: Refugees endure a violent sequel



Skirmishes between Sandinista patrols (shown here) and Miskito fighters continue along the Coco River.

overthrow the Sandinistas operates along the river."

Approximately 2,500 people are in the Mocoron camp, with another 5,000 in a camp called Tapamlaya, located 30 miles from the border but only a five-hour walk from a KISAN base. An official with World Relief, one of several U.S.-based organizations working in the zone, said relief efforts aimed to move people farther inland as soon as possible, in part because camp conditions are bad but also because KISAN has entered Tapamlaya to recruit fighters.

## Refugees feared that new fighting would force them back to the resettlement villages they universally despised.

He said this and other factors point to a larger story behind the sudden turn of events:

• The latest Coco River incident occurred just as Congress debated President Reagan's \$100-million *contra* aid proposal,

the press trip and Libya dominated the news.

• Once journalists did make it to the remote area, many felt refugees had been "coached" as to what they should say.

• Knowing the effort Managua placed on moving the 12,000 indigenous peoples back to their cherished river homeland, an "unprovoked attack" on the villagers made no political sense.

#### Who started it?

At the same time, it seemed plausible that Nicaragua sought to deal KISAN a blow coinciding with the Paraiso strikes on the larger FDN. Coming at the end of the six-month dry season, March and April have traditionally been months of military activity.

Managua was also uneasy about increased U.S. and Honduran military presence in the area, where U.S. Army engineers just completed work on a 4,100-foot military runway. One refugee spoke of government troops digging defensive trenches near the Nicaraguan town of Puerto Cabezas, as rumors of a full-scale attack across the Honduran border circulated in early March.

Although a Sandinista offensive on KISAN positions may have made sense militarily, the attacks nonetheless carry a high political price. Another possibility, however, is that KISAN initiated the fighting in order to destroy what little respect the Sandinistas still had among the Miskitos.

IN THESE TIMES MAY 14-20, 1986' 7

"How can we ever have confidence in them?" asked one man. "They have said 'pardon us, we made many errors in dealing with you.' We won't listen to that anymore. This is unpardonable."

Rumor and confusion reached such an extreme that refugees even claimed Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomas Borge had predicted they would not remain long in the 40 villages dotting the riverbed. Several interpreted a Borge statement that "if the *contras* win they will find only rocks and dirt" as literally marking them for extinction.

#### Tumultuous history

Such exaggerated sentiments stem from the long, tumultuous history of relations between Managua and the Miskitos. Refugees said they were particularly fearful that new fighting would force a return to the universally despised resettlement villages most lived in after the 1982 evacuation.

At that time, Managua moved 12,000 Miskitos inland as cross-border attacks by the newly formed *contras* increased. Another 15,000 left for Honduras. Most

river villagers have relatives in Honduras among these "old refugees," leaving no doubt as to where they would go this time if fighting broke out.

Life for both new and old refugees has not been easy, as soils away from the river are poor. Indians must secure annual permission from the Honduran forest ministry to farm, due to the traditional practice of "slash-and-burn" planting in different sites each year. The latest influx of refugees will strain the area's fragile ecosystem, which is characterized by pine forests, grassy fields and thick tropical foliage along the meandering rivers.

The limit on planting forced some 1982 refugees to remain dependent on relief organizations for food supplements. Other work is scarce and distant markets force people into relying solely on their own produce to survive.

For these reasons, a trickle of refugees is flowing back to Nicaragua even as a new flood heads in the opposite direction. Sixty-five Indians, most of them Sumus (a smaller indigenous group), returned to Nicaragua under UNHCR auspices on April 29. Some had left as long ago as 1981, while others said they were caught in the recent fighting but feel conditions are still better in Nicaragua.

"One cannot feel good in a strange country, without enough food or money," said Teodoro Gomez. "You can only work well on your own land."

William Gasperini is *In These Times'* correspondent in Nicaragua.



# Divestment

Continued from page 3

cently voted to divest the school's stock in companies tied to South Africa. The Spelman vote became the focus of national attention because many of the country's 116 private black colleges find themselves in much the same situation. Since the endowments at most of the schools are smaller and much more fragile than those at prestigious, predominantly white institutions, the consequences of divestment are more pronounced.

"The removal of South African-related stocks from the university's pool of eligible securities will subject the university's endowment to a number of potential hazards," said Spelman president, Dr. Donald Stewart, before the trustee vote. Stewart said arguments advocating divestment had failed to convince him the process was an effective way to pressure the South African government. "I think the pressure points for real change in South Africa will not come from tilting very fragile college endowments," he told the *New York Times*, "but by bringing more forceful pressure on Washington and the Reagan administration."

Stewart's reluctance to accept the divestment argument (a reluctance shared by a fair number of officials at the 116 traditionally black colleges) provoked some anger among black leaders who argue black campuses should be in the forefront of the divestment movement.

"The financial risk excuse is not a valid one," said ACOA's Mustafa. "Most studies have shown that schools can divest and incur no loss at all." The University of Wisconsin, Michigan State, the city of Philadelphia and the state of Massachusetts have all reported that divestment has increased rather than decreased their stock earnings, she noted.

Testifying before a Congressional committee in 1984, Robert Schwartz, a vice

president of Shearson/American Express said "...the facts and figures on divestment of securities of companies operating in South Africa I believe clearly establish that performance need not be lowered..." In fact, divestment advocates contend, South Africa's serious financial problems actually have made divestment less risky than maintaining investments in the country.

"In 1983, six U.S. firms left South Africa and three started new businesses," reads a report prepared by the faculty of the University of Chicago. "In 1984, seven left the country and two started businesses. In 1985, 28 corporations left the country and no American firm began a new enterprise there." Several additional corporations, including IBM, have intimated they may soon pull out.

## Connections and relationships

Student leaders insist the campus divestment movement has served to expose the links between apartheid and domestic racism. "We know it's always easier to tend someone else's backyard, so we've been pushing to make clear the links between South African and American racism," explains Lisa Crooms of the Washington Office on Africa. "And we've been having a lot of success in getting students to understand the relationship between the two."

According to ACOA's *Student Anti-Apartheid Newsletter*, the movement for divestment has developed politically in many ways, among them:

- There has been an effort to link anti-apartheid activity to opposition to U.S. funding for UNITA and the *contras*.

- There has been greater stress placed on providing material and political support for the South African liberation movements.

- The protests have reaffirmed for students the importance of organizing.

- The activity has revealed the undemocratic, corporate character of the university.

Perhaps it's just wishful thinking, but the ACOA predicts a new era of student activism will follow this successful year of anti-apartheid protest.

# DSA

Continued from page 5

nominations not only nationally but also in almost every Congressional district.

## Who is a left Democrat?

At the old DSOC and Democratic Agenda conferences, there was a constant debate over presidential candidates, which often overshadowed discussion of platform or local politics. At the New Directions conference, there was no discussion of presidential politics, except on an entirely abstract and statistical level. This may have reflected the DSA leadership's pessimism and passivity.

The conference's invitation to Jackson was a case in point. In 1984, there was considerable support for Jackson's candidacy in DSA, but some of DSA's leaders were critical of his anti-Semitic remarks, his unwillingness to repudiate the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, and his foreign policy stands not merely against American intervention abroad, but in support of Cuba's Fidel Castro and Nicaragua's Sandinista regime. But Jackson was not only the sole presidential candidate to address the conference; he was the only one that was issued an invitation.

At the conference itself, Harrington and other DSA leaders went out of their way to praise Jackson. "Jackson talked programmatically about the kind of ideas that are here better than anyone else," Harrington said of Jackson's 1984 campaign. Asked repeatedly about New Direction's identification with Jackson's candidacy, Harrington kept insisting that Jackson was invited as a representative of blacks, not as a candidate. Harrington's answer was undoubtedly true, but it reflected a lack of attention to national political currents.

Jackson himself, however, cut short any groundswell at the convention by forgoing his usual inspired ad-lib presentation to read from a speech that New York City Council member Ruth Messinger, along with many others, pronounced surprisingly "dull."

Harrington's preferred presidential candidate is New York Governor Mario Cuomo. The DSA leaders would have liked to invite Cuomo, but assumed he would decline—a correct assumption given that he does not even accept invitations to speak before labor conventions. DSA Political Director Jim Shoch likes Hart, but other DSA leaders are indifferent or hostile to him. Harrington said they did not invite Hart to the conference because they don't consider him—even though he had a 100 percent Americans for Democratic Action rating for last year—a "left Democrat." "We wanted the left wing of the party," Harrington explained.

## Political paradox

The same weekend that New Directions met in Washington the Democratic Policy Commission, a creation of Paul Kirk's Democratic National Committee (DNC), met in Atlanta to frame a platform for the Democrats. Kirk wants to draft a platform for the Democrats that moves the party toward the anti-deficit, pro-*contra* position espoused by former Virginia Gov. Chuck Robb and the rival Democratic Leadership Council. In the two-day hearings, the commissioners heard pleas to support military spending and to get rid of the "total paralysis of the Vietnam syndrome."

Kirk may be correct that the party will have to nominate a moderate and adopt a moderate platform it wants to win in 1988, but his efforts will not have the slightest effect on the battle for the presidential nomination. As it did in 1984, the DNC labors under the illusions of its own potency, which are quickly dashed after the first primary voters cast their ballots. The DNC is largely irrelevant to Democratic politics.

On the other hand, the group that came together in New Directions could be highly influential, but it conducted itself in Washington as if victory were either certain or so remote a possibility as to be beyond consideration. The New Directions conference showed that the left is becoming serious about economics. Now it needs to become serious about politics.

## NEW from NEW STAR

### MAKING A NEW PEOPLE

Education in Revolutionary Cuba

THEODORE MacDONALD traces the progress of Cuba's astonishing accomplishments in the field of education, from the days of the Great Literacy campaign to the present, when Cuba boasts what is arguably the best education system in the world. A must for teachers, educators and readers interested in Latin America and Third World developments.

\$9.95 paper



### SANDINISTA

A Novel of Nicaragua

MARIE JAKOBER's unique and powerful story of war and revolution. Author Margaret Randall says: "A book that is exciting reading while actually feeling, sounding, smelling like the Nicaragua of the months just preceding the Sandinista victory... I couldn't put it down!"

\$7.95 paper

### DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM

The Challenge of the Eighties and Beyond

The conflict between neo-conservatism and democratic socialism in western democracies defines the crucial questions of the age. Fourteen leading socialist thinkers and activists examine a broad range of affected issues. DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM—an important addition to any library of international socialist thought. \$9.95 paper



**NEW  
STAR  
BOOKS**

COMING SOON!

*Albuquerque: Coming Back to the USA*  
by Margaret Randall

Write For a Free catalogue!

2504 York Ave., Vancouver, Canada V6K 1E3

IN THESE TIMES

## SUBSCRIBER SERVICES

I AM

(if applicable, affix your mailing label here)

Name

Address

City, State, Zip

☐ **MOVING** Tell us where so IN THESE TIMES can join you at your new home.

NEW address

City, State, Zip

If possible affix your mailing label to facilitate the change. If no label is available, be sure to include both the new and OLD zip codes with the complete addresses. Please allow 4-6 weeks for the address change.

☐ **SUBSCRIBING** Fill out your name and address above and we will have IN THESE TIMES with news and analysis you can't find anywhere else, in your mailbox within 4-6 weeks. (check price/term below) **STN5**

☐ **RENEWING** Do it now and keep IN THESE TIMES coming without interruption. Affix your mailing label above and we will renew your account to automatically extend when your current subscription expires. (check price/term below) **RST5**

☐ **SHOPPING** Give an IN THESE TIMES gift subscription. It makes a perfect gift for friends, relatives, students or associates. Send IN THESE TIMES as my gift to: (I have filled out my name and address above)

Name

Address

City, State, Zip

A handsome gift card will be sent. How would you like it signed? **STH5**

### PRICE/TERM

☐ One year \$34.95 ☐ Student/Retired One year \$24.95

☐ Six months \$18.95 ☐ One year (institutional) \$59.00

☐ Payment enclosed ☐ Bill me later

☐ Charge my VISA/MC acct # \_\_\_\_\_ Exp. date \_\_\_\_\_

Call toll-free 1-800-247-2160. In Iowa call 1-800-362-2860.

Above prices for U.S. residents only. Foreign orders add \$13 per year.

☐ **COMPLAINING** Let us know, we want to help. Our subscribers are important to us. We want to make sure you receive the best of service. Please affix your mailing label above or give the name and address on the subscription. What seems to be wrong?

IN THESE TIMES CUSTOMER SERVICE, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657  
(312) 472-5700



**S**ELDOM HAVE EUROPEAN LEADERS been quite so abject as at the Tokyo summit. Perhaps one has to look back to the 1938 Munich conference to find quite such official hypocrisy deployed to justify the sacrifice of a "faraway country about which we know nothing," in order to appease the leader of an assertive military power who threatens to smash everything if he doesn't get his way.

The leaders of the world's richest countries got together around dinner in Tokyo May 4. Ronald Reagan gave his colleagues something to think about besides how to hold their chopsticks: a position paper on terrorism. "Why should this summit concern itself with terrorism? One reason... is the need to do something so that the crazy Americans won't take matters into their own hands again."

This makes official Henry Kissinger's famous "madman" theory of how to impose outrageous decisions on the rest of the world by pretending that America's vast power is in the hands of a madman.

"Another reason is money," Reagan's paper went on, showing that Americans aren't so crazy after all. Europeans should think of the "lost tourism"—lost, incidentally, to a media campaign that made Americans forget that ordinary homicides in the U.S. alone kill 50 times more people than worldwide "terrorism," but demonstrated to nervous European exporters just how easy it is to get the American public to boycott their beloved "allies."

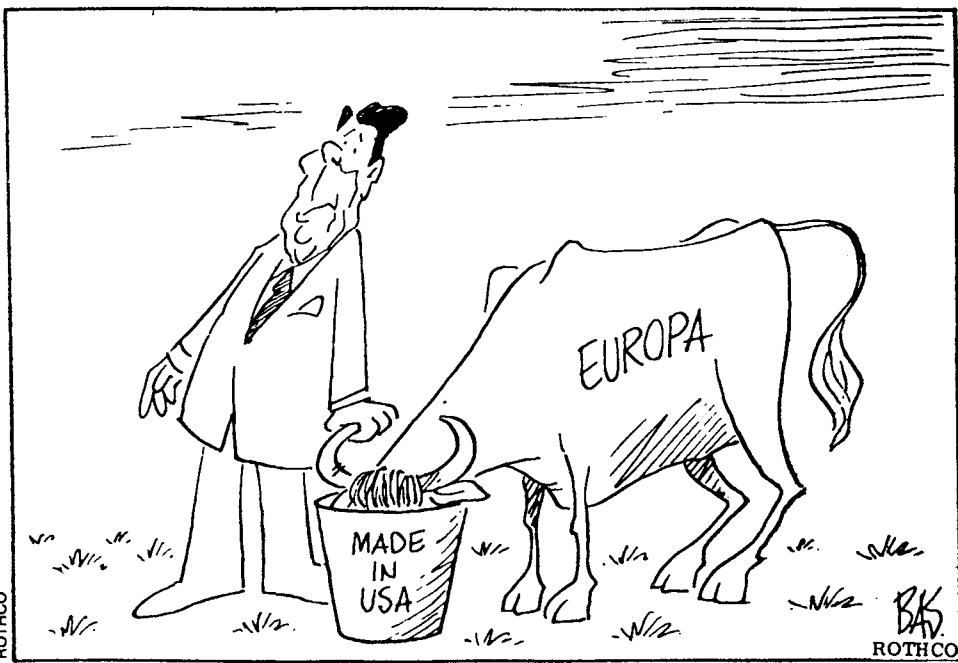
The madman theory has been slightly adjusted. The "madman" is no longer the President (for Kissinger, Nixon played the "madman" to scare the Vietnamese) but the American people as a whole.

So the rich sat down around a fine dinner table, and, as so often happens, forgot their quarrels (over economic policy, agricultural exports, military spending and so on) by uniting against the small, the weak and the poor, symbolized for the occasion by Libya. Having a purported "madman" at the helm does not enhance Libya's clout, because it is essentially a small, weak, poor country whose only source of wealth is oil—and that is to be taken away from it, if the rich have their way. The official pretext is that Libya's revolutionary leader Muammar Khadafy is supposed to be the main sponsor of international terrorism and thus the world's number-one criminal. The American people believe this, so whether or not is true—and it certainly has never been proved—everyone better pretend to believe it or risk economic boycott.

Yasuhiro Nakasone, Margaret Thatcher, Helmut Kohl, Francois Mitterrand, Bettino Craxi and Brian Mulroney endorsed a set of measures that no informed person believes will end international terrorism. And since there is still a sizable minority of informed people in Europe, Europe's political leaders and media pretended to be swept along by the impetuous moralism of America's septuagenarian President. They acted as if the Tokyo commitment to fight "international terrorism" were no more than a momentary concession rather than a decisive step toward total acceptance of the policy the Reagan administration has been pursuing since it came to office five and a half years ago. This policy involves tearing down the authority of the United Nations, the International Court and any other framework of world order implying equal rights for all, and setting up a power directorate of the richest capitalist countries under U.S. leadership to lay down the law to the rest of the world. This law of the rich and powerful will be enforced by a whole new panoply of weapons, including electronically guided missiles with conventional, nuclear or chemical warheads.

### Spelling it out

This was spelled out in the August 1982 Army field manual "AirLand Battle 2000" by U.S. Army Chief of Staff Edward C. Meyer and West German Bundeswehr Inspector General Meinhard Glanz, who wrote that the "older industrialized nations,



## ECONOMICS

# At the Tokyo summit Reagan mobilizes the rich vs. the poor

especially the United States and Western Europe," must unite to meet the challenge of "emerging Third World countries" who "may align themselves with more hostile states and resort to terrorism, blackmail or limited war to attain an equal share of resources."

Libya has been singled out for practice in dealing with this sort of problem. The moment has been well chosen: oil prices are down. The non-military measures agreed upon in Tokyo appear designed to make Libya an example for other Third World countries, while reinforcing the political notion of international terrorism in the rich countries.

- The arms boycott will have the effect of pushing Libya (or any other similarly threatened state) toward the Soviet bloc in self-defense. This can be used to brand Moscow as the "center of international terrorism."

- The diplomatic boycott prevents any dialog, makes it impossible for the Libyans to answer accusations leveled against them

## Summit aim was to set up a power directorate under U.S. leadership.

and makes it even easier than it has already been to blame Khadafy (or whoever else may be the main "international terrorist" of the moment) for every crime that is committed.

- Forcing U.S. oil companies to leave Libya may be a way of getting them to kick in to finance some variant of the *contra* operation to get their property back.

The European leaders were content because they were being let in on the Baker plan of U.S. Treasury Secretary James A. Baker to coordinate monetary policy. The French have long wanted something like this. To distract attention from their surrender to Reagan administration foreign policy, they provided the sideshow: the two-headed French rooster, President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, both representing France in the act of "cohabitation" between a Socialist and a conservative. Fascinated with form rather than content the French media concentrated totally on the most trivial staged gestures of their two champions, not even bothering to notice what the act meant. It meant that

France now has a "bipartisan foreign policy" on the American model, and that there is no more real opposition or even debate in the field of foreign policy in France.

### Third World view

So much unanimity in the rich countries means a dangerously wide gap between the way reality and justice are perceived in the rich countries and in the poor countries of the world. The gap widens as the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. The Tokyo summit was described as "the cabal of the rich" at a simultaneous meeting on Third World cooperation held in Kuala Lumpur. Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad said that in the face of an unprecedented economic undermining of the Third World, the small group in Tokyo seemed to be "closing their ranks and creating their own economic order for the world."

Noting the "fascist flavor" of Reagan administration policies, the secretary general of the Commonwealth, Shridath Ramphal, said that the world had moved away from international cooperation toward a "new era of economic dominion and dependency."

The friendly unity of the rich is achieved at the expense of the poor, and the poor notice.

The poor have also noticed that Libya has been convicted and sentenced without a trial. Khadafy's denials, the doubts of European police, the absence of any real proof—all that is swept away, but the poor are attentive.

Significantly, popular reaction against the U.S. bombing of Libya has been strongest in Libya's two neighboring countries, Egypt and Tunisia, where Khadafy is detested by the governments and held in low esteem by the population. Nevertheless, people know that Khadafy cannot be responsible for the crimes of Palestinian terrorists, and the April 15 bombing was too much. Egyptian President Mubarak was prudent enough to criticize the raid and offer assistance to Libya. But in Tunisia, the most Westernized of North African countries, 83-year-old President Habib Bourguiba spoke not a critical word of the raid, but cracked down hard on protest demonstrations. This turned the raid into a domestic political event, causing a deep and dangerous split between popular feeling and the government.

The American bombing of Tripoli was bound to outrage Tunisians as it recalled the bombing last October 1 by Israeli jets of Yassir Arafat's headquarters at a resort town near Tunis which killed many Tun-

sians. Tunisians, who had obliged Western leaders by giving shelter to the remnant of Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) that was driven out of Beirut and wanted to remain independent of Syria, were aghast when the White House applauded the Israeli bombing. "The United States and Israel have proved that Tunisian sovereignty means nothing to them," exiled opposition leader Ahmed Ben Salah told the Paris daily *Libération* at the time. He called the Israeli raid a grave turning-point that had wounded Tunisians' sense of honor.

Ahmed Ben Salah, a former close collaborator of Bourguiba and leader of the Popular Unity Movement, speculated that Bourguiba's prime minister, Mohamed Mzali, had deliberately blown up a controversy with Libya (over Libyan expulsion of Tunisian and other foreign workers for economic austerity reasons) in order to distract from the Israeli raid. The government's dramatization of the Tunisian-Libyan dispute also served to launch a vast offensive against the Tunisian Labor Union federation and against the democratic opposition," he observed, adding that the destruction of the labor movement was weakening a major pillar of Tunisian national independence. This indirectly favored Khadafy's pan-Arabism, he warned.

Bourguiba has always extolled secular values against "religious obscurantism." But as in other Third World countries, the secular left is systematically suppressed, and secularism thus becomes identified with Western exploitation and corruption, inciting a return to traditional religious values.

Bourguiba's crackdown on protests against the U.S. raid has jeopardized the free elections Mzali promised for next November. The leader of the opposition Social Democrats Movement, Ahmed Mestiri, was arrested for taking part in a meeting against the bombing and sentenced to four months in prison, which under Tunisian law will prevent him from being a candidate. He was convicted despite the fact that no fewer than 225 lawyers joined in defending him at his trial. A major plea on behalf of the social democratic leader was delivered by Abdelfattah Mourou, a leader of the Islamists who are allying with the left against Western interference.

Meanwhile, police scoured Tunis University searching for the person who had tossed a molotov cocktail at a U.S. consular vehicle. When a 25-year-old Islamist student was shot to death by police, Tunis University erupted in the worst violence ever seen there. Some 1,200 students were dragged away by police, and a third of them were shipped to the south to do military service.

Since U.S. Vice President George Bush had been to Tunisia to assure Bourguiba of U.S. support just one month before the bombing of Libya, this brutal crackdown on protests is perceived in Tunisia as a form of obedience to American wishes.

What the American public is unable to perceive (thanks to the media) is that such protests are not expressions of simple "anti-Americanism," much less a defense of "terrorists," but much more the expression of outrage against unjust and illegal use of force and violence. What the American public is unable to perceive is that people in other parts of the world simply *do not believe* that Khadafy is guilty of all the crimes the U.S. accuses him of, for the simple reason that there has been no trial, no examination, no proof. A volume could be written of all the accusations against Khadafy that have, in recent years, been launched in the media with lots of noise and then quietly turned out to be baseless. Since there is no due process, there is only abuse of power.

This is why the association Law Against Reasons of State, in conjunction with a group at the Sorbonne, have appealed to the secretary general of the United Nations to ask the International Court at the Hague to set up an independent international commission of inquiry to examine the conflict between Reagan and Khadafy.

That is what European political leaders should be demanding. But they have not, and it is hard to see what can stop the rapid degeneration of international law and order into inextricable deadly confusion. ■



## EDITORIAL

# Reagan's sanitizers still seek contra aid

President Reagan's phony war against terrorism—and his real war against Libya—and the still-developing Chernobyl nuclear power plant disaster have monopolized the media these past several weeks. But even though it is out of the news, the Reagan war against Nicaragua is still being pursued. Administration efforts to get congressional approval of \$100 million in aid to the *contras* remain a priority item on the president's agenda. Two defeats in the House—one in March, the other in April—have not put the matter to rest. *Contra* aid is alive and festering.

In the House, the Democratic leadership will probably allow a compromise aid proposal to be attached to a military appropriations bill now scheduled for a vote June 9. The leadership's reasoning is that the least they can give Reagan is a compromise providing the *contras* \$30 million in "humanitarian" aid right off, while withholding another \$70 million in overtly military aid until Congress certifies the sincerity of administration efforts to negotiate with the Sandinistas.

Meanwhile, the administration is trying to clean up its actors. Last week, after an investigation whose thoroughness can only be surmised, the Justice Department gave the *contras* a clean bill of health on charges that they have engaged in gun running and drug smuggling. A few weeks before that a campaign to sanitize the *contras*, whose corruption and campaign of terror against Nicaraguan farmers and vil-

lagers have given them image problems even on Capitol Hill, came to a head.

It seems that the United Nicaraguan Opposition (UNO) was not united. Arturo Cruz and Alfonso Robelo, the two "respectables" in the three-man leadership, were being ignored by Adolfo Calero, the man close to the *contras*' real leader, Enrique Bermudez, a former colonel in the Somoza National Guard. This embarrassed the administration in its attempts to present the *contras* as "freedom fighters." So Assistant Secretary of State Elliot Abrams, with the help of true lovers of democracy like Robert Leiken of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, engaged in some heavy-duty cosmetic work. The three UNO "leaders" were told to cooperate, or else. If they didn't "present a more attractive image" to Congress, Abrams warned, they could forget about the \$100 million being debated in Congress.

Cruz and Robelo are necessary window dressing because both served in the Nicaraguan government after the Sandinista victory of 1979. As disillusioned demo-

crats and foes of Somoza, their presence gives the appearance of a more broadly-based opposition. But last August, when these two nominal leaders of the UNO visited a *contra* camp in Honduras, they were virtually ignored and treated with contempt by Bermudez and his fellow officers. "They could have been from the Miami Chamber of Commerce," said one Nicaraguan who was there. Bermudez, on the other hand, is appreciated by the administration as "a good organizer and a manager type not replaceable at this time." He is "not replaceable," of course, because he commands the only real troops the *contras* have: the most vicious and brutal remnants of the old National Guard. They are the *contras*. And because they are subservient only to Nicaragua's wealthiest families and the executives of American corporations with Nicaraguan operations, they are what Reagan wants.

But they are not what the American people want. As a major *New York Times*/CBS poll discovered last month, Americans oppose aid to the *contras* by more

than two to one (62 percent to 25 percent). A majority oppose aid in all sections of the country and in all social and political categories. Even Republicans are opposed by 51 percent to 36 percent. (Among Democrats, opponents of aid outnumber supporters by almost five to one.)

In a democracy, of course, this should mean that *contra* aid is dead in the water. But while the American people have little or no interest in neocolonialism, not so their corporate-sponsored leaders in both parties. In Congress, the majority of members know where their campaign contributions come from and who controls the media. There are a few Democrats who actually believe that as a nation we should recognize Nicaragua's right—and the right of all nations—to determine their own fate, even if this means an unfavorable climate of investment for our multinational corporations. But there aren't many. Most members of Congress would not hesitate a minute in helping overthrow a revolutionary government that was not suitably supine. If they could get away with it.

But members of Congress must seek reelection this year, so they cannot afford to flout public opinion too openly. That's why the image cleanup of the *contras* is so important to the administration and its collaborators. And that's why it is equally important for those opposed to *contra* aid to remind their representatives of where the American people stand on this issue. ■

## Lower back pain

**R**UTH GELLER WAS FORTUNATE TO HAVE had such an agreeable conversation with her chiropractor about aid to the *contras* (*ITT*, April 16). I had quite a different experience when I wore a "Hands Off Central America" button to a recent gynecological exam at my local clinic.

The doctor, whom I had never seen before, questioned me on my views about that day's House vote on *contra* aid as he began the pelvic exam. He informed me that he had recently seen Reagan on TV and "that's all I need to hear. The Communists are taking over Nicaragua and will invade America if we don't stop them." Etc., etc.

I have cervical abnormalities caused by DES, a synthetic hormone given to many pregnant women from the '40s to 1971 in an attempt to prevent miscarriages. Like many other DES daughters, I have to undergo expensive and painful examinations every six months to check for signs of a type of cancer caused by exposure to DES in utero.

I am struck by the similar motives behind the indiscriminate administration of an inadequately-tested drug to millions of women and our government's efforts to destroy a small country that is trying to take care of its people rather than cater to the interests of multinationals. The quest for profits is a powerful motivator indeed.

It is difficult enough for me to find a doctor sympathetic to my DES-related medical needs—now it seems I must also guard against hostile political exchanges while I'm on the examination table.

Reagan isn't the only one who gives me a stomach ache, Ruth!

Kathy McKay  
Newark, Del.

## Still partisan

**T**HE ENCLOSED MODEST CONTRIBUTION to ease your financial difficulties comes from a 78-year-old retiree, a former journeyman wage earner, in recognition of your outstanding efforts to promote enlightenment in order to achieve peace and social justice.

I am particularly pleased by Diana Johnstone's articles because I was born in Europe and during World War II was a partisan with Tito.

Anthony Olivari  
San Diego, Calif.

## LETTERS

### Thanks, John

**I** WOULD LIKE TO THANK JOHN JUDIS FOR his very informative piece concerning the U.S. and Libya (*ITT*, April 23). He gave much background information that helped shed light on current U.S. policy in the Mideast. The Israeli-Palestinian-U.S. involvement was explained especially well. Keep up the good work.

Ben Meyers  
Baton Rouge, La.

### Forlorn little thermometer

**W**HEN I SEE THE FORLORN LITTLE THERMOMETER on page 2, it makes me wonder if all the non-contributors out there are crazy. In *These Times* is the difference between informed sanity and social despair for me. I recently used John Judis' article on the "rollback" doctrine in a speech. I was moved and inspired by the recent long analysis of *Hannah and Her Sisters*; Saul Landau's article on the Sandinistas ("Neither saints nor devils") I have been sending around to friends. I wish I had \$1 million to give you.

Bud Gerber  
Boone, N.C.

### Scandalous cheap shots

**I** HAVE ENJOYED EACH ISSUE OF *IN THESE TIMES* for the past year and hope to see more of your hard-hitting reporting. However, the article, "Rainbow lightens up, broadens its base," by Salim Muwakkil (*ITT*, April 30) contained many cheap shots.

Muwakkil states that, "despite a moment or two of chaos and some rancorous debate—the kind to be expected at a gathering of such opinionated people—the delegates accomplished what they intended." How scandalous to characterize members of the National Rainbow Coalition as opinionated. Is that what populists are by definition? If so, does it follow that wealthy, highly-privileged people—in

contrast to the poor and unwashed—are reflective and thoughtful?

Muwakkil continues, "That kind of candor was the rule rather than the exception and marked a departure from the blind sycophancy often displayed at Jackson-inspired gatherings." Using the term "blind sycophancy" to characterize the strong support for Jesse Jackson is ridiculous.

Did Dr. Martin Luther King create a mass of blind followers when he courageously articulated the issues of race, poverty and repression? Isn't Jackson doing essentially the same, tapping generations of pent-up energies through inspiration. The crunch comes because these energies are being directed against the established order. This invites all sorts of attempts to discredit the movement.

Dennis W. Brezina  
Harwood, Md.

### Purple whitewash

**I** APPRECIATED SALIM MUWAKKIL'S (*ITT*, April 9) and Pat Aufderheide's (April 23) comments on the film *The Color Purple* and the controversy surrounding it. Here are some of my own.

I was outraged by the film. Like many other blacks, I took the film personally. Yet for me the outrage of *The Color Purple* was not what I was asked to confront, or remember, but what I was asked to forget: the contexts of race and class.

More than ignoring race and class, the film *The Color Purple* whitewashed both to get on safer ground. Spielberg's gross sensationalism went a long way toward accomplishing this pseudo-reality. But the film's ideology is clearest in the crude portrayal of Celie's husband as a well-to-do farmer, who just happens to treat his wife like a slave. By giving him middle-class trappings and concealing behind spacious interiors and paneling what would have been the real hardships of his existence, we are cued that race and class had nothing to do with his exploitation of Celie. When he finally cries, after Celie decides to leave him, "You're poor, you're black, you're a woman and you're ugly,"

the statement seems like a joke.

Although Muwakkil writes about the development of black feminism that made possible *The Color Purple*, the roots of the film *Purple* are not so much the 20th-century literature of race and sex and class from which Walker's novel emerges, as the middle-class feminism of the media, of which the film industry is so obvious a part. I would hazard the guess that Spielberg's exploitation of media feminism is a key reason for the film's popularity among whites.

Offering to audiences the rare opportunity to view black characters in black society, the price of *The Color Purple* is, once again, to strip black (and, derivatively, white) experience of its many dimensions and replace it with more comfortable stereotypes. I can only hope that the success of *The Color Purple* will prepare us for more honest attempts.

Katherine Sciacchitano  
Washington, D.C.

### Punk criticism

**A**S A DEVOTEE OF THE PUNK SUBCULTURE, particularly its current, progressive form known as "hardcore," I was very disappointed with Simon Frith's article (*ITT*, April 23). Frith, reading the *New Musical Express* at his university, apparently believes punk began and ended with the Sex Pistols and the Clash. In fact, after the anti-social shock value of punk's attitude lost, inevitably, some of its edge, the majority of punkers got down to the business of changing the way they live, and not just their clothes and hair. Today, worldwide, the hardcore scene is very strong. If Frith doubts this, I suggest he take a look at the letters column in *Maximum Rock and Roll* (devoted, unlike *NME*, to substance, not style), or any of the hundreds of other independently produced hardcore publications. He might even leave his university and go talk to the kids at a Dead Kennedy's show.

Hardcore promotes thinking over following, action over apathy, and socialism over Reaganism. These are the things that should have been covered in an *ITT* article on punk; not the sour-grapes ramblings of a lazy intellectual. Next time *ITT* considers punk, get someone to write who cares.

William Mueller  
Durham, N.C.



## PERSPECTIVE

By Lawrence Kootnikoff

**O**N FEBRUARY 24, 1986, A giant of Canadian socialism died a quiet death in his home in Ottawa, after a long battle with cancer.

T.C. (Tommy) Douglas did not have the impact that Olof Palme and other European social democratic leaders had on the world scene, but this fiery, diminutive (5'5"), Baptist preacher is, perhaps, a more significant figure for North American socialists. He formed the first socialist government on the continent, in the province of Saskatchewan, in 1944, and later became the first national leader of the New Democratic Party (NDP) of Canada.

Socially, culturally and politically, Canada has much in common with the United States. However, for more than fifty years a democratic socialist party has been government or official opposition in four of ten Canadian provinces and one territory, and has played an important role in national politics.

How is it that the NDP and its predecessor, the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF), have managed to form government and become an accepted part of Canadian society, while across the border similar American attempts have withered and died?

To answer this question completely would require a book (several have been written), but much of the answer lies in the style, character, and contributions of Tommy Douglas.

Born in Falkirk, Scotland, in 1904, Douglas and his family came to Canada in 1910 and settled in Winnipeg, Manitoba. In 1924 he decided to enter the Baptist ministry, and upon graduation from Brandon College in 1930 was posted to a church in Weyburn, Saskatchewan.

Religion played no small part in the formation of Douglas' socialism. Through his studies he had been exposed to the social gospel, which was gaining adherents both in Canada and the United States. The social gospel held that Christianity was a social religion, and that to save a person you had to save them body and soul, in this world as well as the next. "Many fine Christian people," Douglas later said, "have taken the position that they should divorce themselves from the struggles and problems of society and concentrate upon their own spiritual growth and development. They forget that while the Kingdom of God means a new relationship between God and man, it also means a new relationship between man and his fellow man." Douglas came to look on socialism as no more than "applied Christianity." The social gospel was and is one of the most important strains of Canadian socialism, and as Clement Atlee said of the British Labour Party, it owes "more to Methodism than to Marx."

As the Great Depression gathered force in rural Saskatchewan, the young minister became active in relief work. He became increasingly committed to political action and in 1933 participated in the founding convention of the CCF in Regina, the provincial capital. In the 1935 federal election he ran for the constituency of Weyburn as the CCF candidate and won.

### Social gospel

The pulpit has proved a good training ground for more than one politically inclined church minister, and this young MP was no exception. In a country noted for its orators, Douglas was one of the best. Today, in the age of the 30-second TV clip and packaged personalities, we forget what an important weapon the spoken word was for the politician of the pre-television age. As one of his biographers, Dale Lovick, puts it, "In the absence of television and movie theaters politics was

## Tommy Douglas: NDP founder

a major source of entertainment. A political meeting, a public debate or a radio broadcast was a community event." Douglas thrived in this environment, and his mastery of it explains much of his success. His oratory and debating ability could sway the uncommitted and move and inspire the faithful. "Surely if we can produce in such abundance in order to destroy our enemies," he told an audience in 1943, "we can produce in equal abundance to provide food, clothing and shelter for our children. If we can keep people employed for the purpose of destroying human life, surely we can keep them employed for the purpose of enriching and enhancing human life."

### Political leader

He served as a member of Parliament until 1944, when he returned to Saskatchewan to lead the provincial CCF to a stunning landslide victory, capturing 47 of 52 seats in the legislature. During the 17 years of Douglas-CCF government, Saskatchewan became known as the "social laboratory of North America."

Premier Douglas and the new government made medical, hospital and dental services free for all senior citizens and took over the cost of treatment for cancer, tuberculosis, mental illness and venereal diseases. In 1947 the CCF implemented the first universal hospitalization plan in Canada and in 1961 socialized all health care (the rest of Canada followed in 1969). The Trade Union Act, which made collective bargaining mandatory, was called by the UAW's Walter Reuther "the most progressive piece of legislation on the North American continent." Standards were established for workers' compensation, minimum wage levels and mandatory holidays. Co-operatives were encouraged, and rural electrification and development and publicly-run auto insurance were brought about by new "crown" (publicly owned) corporations. Sweeping education reforms were also carried out.

When in 1961 the decision was taken to bolster the sagging fortunes of the federal CCF by forming a new party in alliance with the Canadian Labour Congress, Premier Douglas seemed the natural choice for its leader. The New Democratic Party was trying to broaden its base with an updated, slightly watered down socialism, and Douglas had proven leadership abilities and had shown that he could put socialist ideas across in a simple, easily understood and non-threatening way.

The NDP's fortunes in the '60s disappointed many. Despite high hopes, the new party has not been able to break out of third place on a national level, and Douglas himself suffered personal defeat twice in his own constituency. During the turbulent '60s the party, representing the "old left" of working-class social democrats, seemed unable to come to terms with the "new left" of students, youth and intellectuals.

Historically the CCF/NDP has faced the dilemma of trying to decide whether it is a social movement or an electoral party trying to win office. This, combined with left-right struggles and east-west disputes, caused much division within the party, yet Douglas always remained a unifying force. He was very much an old-fashioned grassroots politician, with a phenomenal memory for names and faces. With the NDP becoming more of a "party" concerned with electoral success, Douglas was still the prairie populist, whose gentle humor, self-deprecating wit, easy-going

smiling style and brilliant oratory won him the respect of his opponents and the adoration of his followers.

Tommy Douglas in many way was democratic socialism in Canada. How important was his personal contribution?



T.C. Douglas campaigning for office

*Canada's leading socialist, Douglas led and inspired his party.*

Consider the facts: Douglas headed the first socialist government in North America. When he stepped down as leader that government was defeated. During his 10 years as a federal leader of the NDP his leadership was never seriously questioned, and by the time he stepped down in 1971 the party was firmly established on the national scene, whereas 10 years before many had wondered whether a party of the democratic left was viable in Canada.

While failing in his dream of forming a federal government and leading the NDP beyond third-party status, Douglas probably had more of an impact on national policy than most prime ministers. Many of the pioneering measures first adopted under his government in Saskatchewan later found their way across Canada, and the national system of universal Medicare will remain his enduring legacy.

"I learned long ago," he once said, "that you had to decide whether you were going to stand with the sheep, or with the fellow who was shearing them." This simple line could sum up Douglas' socialism. While more doctrinaire members of the Canadian left have criticized it as too simplistic and theoretically unsound, it should be understood that Douglas was never a theorist. He saw it as his role to define and popularize the party's message in terms average Canadians could understand.

Could Douglas, or someone like him, have succeeded in the United States? Perhaps. Certainly American socialists have much to learn from their Canadian counterparts. Douglas resembles many populist and non-socialist figures in American history. His socialism was pluralist and non-sectarian, something that American socialism must be if it is to succeed. Douglas and the CCF/NDP built a broad coalition of progressives and socialists in Canada, and progressives and socialists in the U.S. could look farther afield and find less relevant examples to emulate.

Lawrence Kootnikoff is a researcher, party activist and editor of *Forward* news-magazine, published by the British Columbia Young New Democrats. He sits on provincial council and executive of the British Columbia NDP and on the New Democratic Party federal council.

### Popular Economics

### Summer Institute 1986

**cpe**

THE SUMMER INSTITUTE FOR POPULAR ECONOMICS is a week-long intensive program in economics for people who are actively working for social change. Whether you work on welfare rights or toxic wastes, Popular Economics will make you and your work more effective.



### HERE'S WHAT PEOPLE ARE SAYING ABOUT US:

**Director, Center for Third World Organizing**—"Very impressed with the amount of information presented, the quality of the analysis, and your ability to make it comprehensible."

**United Steelworkers Staff Rep**—"I was very surprised! Economics has always been 'cold' to me. I found this class very informative and stimulating."

**Social Action Director, Minneapolis-St. Paul Archdiocese**—"As a Catholic, I believe in some basic principles about peace and justice—distributive justice. I wanted to learn an economic theory that supports my religious beliefs."

**Peace Activist, Raleigh, N.C.**—"Liked the sensitivity of teachers, their enthusiasm for teaching and sense of humor. I can use this material to discuss relevant issues that make sense to people."

SUMMER INSTITUTE 1986 sessions are July 20-26 and August 3-9, Cost, including room, board, tuition and recreational facilities is \$250-450, depending on income. Scholarships and daycare available. Deadline for application is July 1

WRITE TO CENTER FOR POPULAR ECONOMICS ★ BOX 785 ★ AMHERST, MA 01004



## ASHES AND DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn

*The total obliteration of the war by information, propaganda, commentaries, with camera-men in the first tanks and war reporters dying heroic deaths, the mish-mash of enlightened manipulation of public opinion and oblivious activity: all this is another expression for the withering of experience, the vacuum between men and their fate, in which their real fate lies. It is as if the reified, hardened, plaster-cast of events takes the place of events themselves. Men are reduced to walk-on parts in a monster documentary film that has no spectators, since the least of them has his bit to do on the screen.*

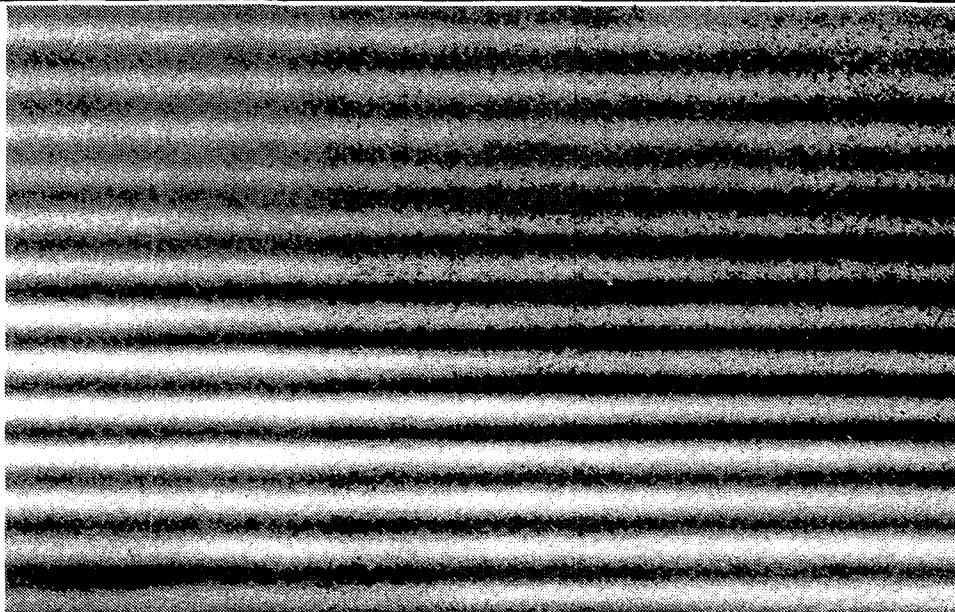
This was Theodor Adorno, writing in *Minima Moralia* about the phony war in 1939, but it seems as good a quotation as any to put at the top of a new column about the monster documentary film, played out on television and in the national press, from which none of us can escape.

## Haiti, before and after

Remember Haiti, which gave way in the headlines to the Philippines, which gave way to Nicaragua, which gave way to Libya, which gave way to Chernobyl and what the types from the Atomic Energy Forum like to call a "nuclear event." Baby Doc fled, the people danced in the streets and pundits heaped praise on President Reagan for his masterly supervision of the shift to freedom in that Caribbean nation.

After a tactful pause, during which the network news teams headed for home, the U.S. Embassy in Port-au-Prince announced on March 27 that it was supplying \$384,000 worth of riot-control equipment to the new government, to "give the Haitian army the ability to respond to internal security emergencies without having to resort to the use of clubs or infantry weapons," thus demonstrating—though no fresh proofs are needed—the humane disposition of the Reagan administration, which knew, as we shall shortly see, that heavy weapons needed to quell uppity Haitians were sent in illegally from the U.S. under the supervision of the CIA 15 years ago.

Since Haiti was now officially "free," U.S. journalists and television crews began to give the country a wide berth, just as they mostly had when it was officially a "dungeon." Journalists will seek any excuse not to go to a country. "It's the one place where Reagan managed to do the right thing," a network correspondent remarked to me with satisfaction about El Salvador, seeking to explain why he had not bothered to go there for several months. When I pointed out that the killer gangs otherwise known as the Salvadoran armed forces are rampaging through the countryside destroy-



ing all in their path, that there is great labor militancy, and that Duarte is fast losing support of his own political base, the correspondent said placidly that he was not aware of such developments, but that El Salvador seemed to be "over," so far as exciting and career-enhancing journalism was concerned.

But amazingly, the news blackout on Haiti was not impenetrable. A team from the CBS documentary show *57th Street* found its way there and on April 30 aired an excellent bit of reporting, produced by my sister-in-law Leslie Cockburn with Jane Wallace. Speaking with uncommon frankness was Butch Ashton, a U.S. businessman who made millions under Duvalier on his own account and also for U.S. firms—such as TRW and GTE—that hired him for his connections and local know-how. Having stated flatly that the Tontons Macoutes were first trained by U.S. Marines in 1961 and 1962, Ashton was confronted with the following profile of his business methods, ripely symbolic of U.S. corporate activity in the region: starting in 1975 Ashton leased land from peasants on which to grow limes for export to the U.S. When the leases expired last year and peasants asked for higher rents, Tontons Macoutes took them off to prison and tortured them until they saw the error of their ways. So, Jane Wallace asked him, did he have Tontons Macoutes on his payroll? Ashton replied with defiant ambiguity, "Never. There have been people...the mayor of the area, who happened to be a Tontons Macoute and is a leader of the area, was, in fact, on—not on the payroll, but he was on a consultant basis for security in the fields...."

But now of course the Tontons are an ancient nightmare (even though most of the hardcore 20,000 still have their weapons and none has been placed on trial), so who is keeping order in the new Haiti? To whom are those riot-control weapons going? Answer: the shock troops known as the Leopards, who were trained by James Byers

and his Miami-based firm Aerotrade, which took the job in 1971 during the U.S. ban on direct military assistance to Haiti. Byers told *57th Street* that the CIA knew all about his mission and supervised contracts for the heavy arms—.30 cal and .50 cal machine guns, 20mm rapid fire cannons—imported into Haiti at the time. "What is happening now," he said, "is that the Leopards...are taking the place of the Tontons Macoutes." The regime hasn't changed, said Honorate of the Haitian Center for Human Rights, "only Duvalier is absent." And the tactics of brutality and intimidation? "I think they are going to worsen."

## Nuclear partners

I don't know why people are surprised at the Soviet Union's reluctance to give details of the disaster at Chernobyl. Stalin took 10 days to acknowledge the German invasion in 1941. The Soviets will presumably be grateful to the U.S. networks for their remarkable tact in keeping off the air as far as was possible active and articulate opponents of nuclear power. No one seemed very keen either to broadcast unwelcome calculations of the consequences upon Chernobyl and kindred communities of just one nuclear missile.

## Perfect executioners

For every diamond there's a hill of ashes. "If—repeat, if—President Reagan should order another attack on Libya," said Dan Rather excitedly on April 22, "how would it compare with last week's raid?" CBS's "Defense" correspondent David Martin then gave a rapt commercial for a new object of joy and defense appropriations, courtesy of General Dynamics, in the non-nuclear Land Attack Tomahawk missile, homing in on the taxpayer at \$3 million per warhead. "Unveiling a weapon which several defense officials say 'has obvious applications to a Libyan scenario,' the Pentagon today released pictures of a submarine-launched Tomahawk cruise missile destroying an aircraft parked 400 miles away. The unmanned cruise missile arrived directly overhead and detonates with split-second timing." While Martin was talking, CBS viewers were blessed with a Defense Department film clip that, unsurprisingly, showed a missile exploding over a plane with split-second timing. That's what Defense Department film clips are for, though why CBS should use them is another question.

This item contained, in compact 60-second form, almost everything that is wrong with network news: grovelling complicity with the Reagan administration, flackery for the Pentagon, insensate ignorance. The Tomahawk is guided in its ultimate stage by "terrain correlation," which matches that landscape ahead of the missile with a stored map inside it, but when the landscape is flat and featureless like, say, Libya, there is insufficient data for matching and the missile goes astray. Final targeting is achieved by DSMAC, or digital scene matching. The missile takes a

TV picture of the designated target area that is then laid over a pre-stored photograph; when the two match, the warhead explodes. The trouble with this system, highly reminiscent of both network reporting and the workings of Ronald Reagan's brain, is that the slightest change in the landscape after the pre-stored photograph has been taken—smoke, a shift in plane positions on a tarmac, etc.—and the Tomahawk missile goes astray and explodes elsewhere with results unfortunate for anyone in the vicinity. In other words, the weapon is a dog, and thus highly esteemed by peace-loving military Keynesians who prefer expensive weapons that don't work. Not so great if you happen to be Khadafy's daughter, but who ever made an omelette without breaking eggs.

And what about the bombing raids on Tripoli and Benghazi, hailed by the Pentagon and its network accomplices as virtually perfect in execution, barring unfortunate and unforeseen impacts on civilian neighborhoods, small children, old people, animals and kindred North African impedimenta? From the military point of view (as from the political), the raid was a disaster. Of 24 F-111s leaving Britain, 13 actually managed to enter the air space over Tripoli and of these only eight managed to release their bombs, and these 90 bombs came close to only two out of the five targets. So much for the Air Force. The U.S. Navy, with two aircraft carriers carrying 90 planes each, managed to bring somewhere between 12 and 16 A-6s over the area, most of whose bombs landed nearly two miles from their targets. The rest of their 180 planes were either defending their aircraft carriers or shooting at the entirely futile SAM-5 missile sites, thus proving the truth of the proposition that an aircraft carrier, at \$5 billion (\$20 billion if you include the escorting flotilla) exists very expensively to defend itself.

This is the kind of data that David Martin and his colleagues do not seem too interested in, preferring as they do to run exciting Defense Department footage of bombs plunging through the night sky toward Khadafy's family.

## Local shell game

If there's one outfit more craven than network news, it's local news. At noon, a couple of days after the Libyan bombing, about 100 students at the Ann Arbor campus of the University of Michigan held a demonstration to protest the raid. The local NBC affiliate showed up and did interviews with the participants who explained that they did not particularly like Khadafy, but did not like reprisal bombing either. The TV team was then approached by two conservative students who asked whether they could "give the other side of the story." The NBC affiliate then interviewed these two lengthily. The five o'clock news had the main demonstrators and the two conservatives. By six o'clock, the main demonstration had disappeared, except as a crowd background to an interview with the conservatives, with the anchorman announcing that protesters at Ann Arbor had demonstrated against the bombing of Libya, "but not Khadafy's terrorism." By 11 p.m. the entire story had disappeared, to be replaced by a submissive interview with a professor on the same campus called Raymond Tanter, who used to be on Reagan's National Security Council.

But the story had a sequel. When the furious organizers of the demonstration called up to complain about their misrepresentation as catspaws of Khadafy, the TV people were arrogant, as all journalists are unless in the presence of people they deem to be more powerful than themselves. But the organizers persisted and finally won an on-air retraction. Moral: don't take the news lying down. ■

## GIVEN THE RIGHT TOOLS PEOPLE CAN DO ANYTHING.



Help make a difference in Central America and the Eastern Caribbean by supporting Oxfam America's "TOOLS for PEACE and JUSTICE" campaign.

Oxfam America supports vital, ongoing development projects in El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Antigua, Dominica and Grenada. Your contributions will provide emergency assistance, health care, agricultural training and equipment for poor people of these countries.

OXFAM AMERICA—PRACTICAL WAYS TO HELP THE WORLD'S POOR.

- ☐ Enclosed is my tax-deductible donation of \$\_\_\_\_\_.
- ☐ Please send me a TOOLS Catalog (includes photos and project information).
- ☐ Please send me a TOOLS Organizing Kit (includes Legislative Briefing Guide).

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

**Oxfam  
America**

115 Broadway  
Boston, MA 02116  
(617) 482-1211  
Ask for TOOLS.

860368



# Le Carre's flawed perfection

**A Perfect Spy**

By John le Carre

Knopf, 479 pp., \$18.95

By Paul Skenazy

SOME TIME BACK, JOHN LE Carre started veering away from writing novels about spying to writing novels about spies. In his Smiley-Karla trilogy in particular (*Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*; *The Honourable Schoolboy*; *Smiley's People*), he wrote less of the dangers of international intrigue than about the people caught in the complex cross-fire of national policy and personal loyalty: those who spend their lives, often at the cost of their souls, peeking at each other for love of country. He got derailed from those purposes a bit with *The Little Drummer Girl*—an intricate but somewhat leaden work about Israeli-Arab conflicts—but he's back in his home territory once again in *A Perfect Spy*.

*Spy* is a psychological thriller in which public issues of who knows what about whom are almost entirely displaced by one individual's quite private—indeed, secretive and illicit—attempt to find out about himself for the first time in his life. Magnus Pym is the “perfect” agent of the title: a suave, engaging, brilliant man who has lived his life charming friends, lovers, wives and even himself into believing that he reserves his lies only for others. As the story opens, Pym (renamed Canterbury) arrives at a boarding house in a south Devon town. Meanwhile, his wife Mary, back in Vienna where the family is posted, awaits Jack Brotherhood, Pym's commander and friend in the Firm (and Mary's former lover), who has come to figure out why Pym has mysteriously disappeared.

From there the story moves through alternating glimpses of Brotherhood and Mary, and of Pym. As Mary and Brotherhood frantically try to reconstruct Pym's motives and actions, Pym himself sits writing a lengthy memoir, addressed by turns to his son Tom and to Brotherhood. Interview by interview, Brotherhood learns of Pym's whereabouts before he disappeared, his calls of apology to friends, his last visit with his son at school. Brotherhood argues with the American spy network, defending Pym against charges of being a double agent. He hears of Pym's clandestine love affairs, his unreported meetings with strangers, his occasional drunken lapses.

### Easy deception

Pym writes of his migratory childhood, the two women who nurtured him and died young, his first spy work for Brotherhood while a peripatetic student in Bern (when he was responsible for the arrest of his crippled friend and neighbor, Axel). Behind both the disappearance and the autobiography, we learn, is the death of Rick,

Pym's notorious, unscrupulous father. When he hears of Rick's death, Pym exclaims, “I'm free,” and after the funeral he disappears. Rick is both the secret shame of Pym's life and the source of Pym's own graceful ease as a deceiver. Pym sees his whole personality arising as a reaction to Rick: his skills as a con artist, his desperate need to please everyone he meets, his selflessness in search of identity and definition from others, his desire to become a “secret mover of life's events.”

The reader see-saws back and forth between these stories, engulfed for a period in Pym's abundant memory, tense and charged

by Brotherhood's witty, threatening and confusing interrogations. Le Carre develops an extraordinarily dense portrait of post World War II England, as seen through the upper-middle-class male point of view. His control of period detail, and of the world of intrigue, is impeccable; the tone rarely slips, the invention never falters. A harsh irony undermines every aspect of British manners and pretension while a decent tone of forbearance maintains hints of the need to sustain some cultural commitment to traditional forms of propriety and common courtesy. (Low-level farce is reserved for the American spy networks.) We rush

from church services to extravagant parties, from outrageous confidence games to even more underhanded spy maneuvers. Everything seems to be noticed, everything seems to be of importance.

Sentence by sentence, *A Perfect Spy* is a near-perfect piece of writing. As a novel, however, the book collapses on itself. While the environment is convincing, most of the characters are not. Almost everyone but Pym is reduced to a monotonous one-note samba: Brotherhood to frustrated rage, Mary to a high-pitched hysteria, and so on. In Brotherhood's case, the portraiture is effective; in Mary's, it is part of that way le Carre has of creating

IN THESE TIMES MAY 14-20, 1986 13 women as non-adults, petulant creatures who live as male toys. Women who remind me of nothing so much as bad Hemingway.

The major problem of the book is the unresolved psychological confusion le Carre brings to his analysis of Pym. *Spy* is a personalization of politics, in which national issues and conflicts of ideas are reduced to private psychic needs. Pym's life is understood as the result of his unresolved childhood conflicts with Rick, which Pym the adult can only tentatively and temporarily control by adopting two alternate father-figure mentors: Jack Brotherhood, whom he ostensibly works for, and Axel, the man whom he betrays and later meets again as a Czechoslovakian agent. Rick's failed nurturing has left Pym sourceless, without a self; he has become a “shell,” a “hermit crab,” an invention of others. The secrets he gives his superiors are his gifts of love, offerings which might maintain his place in their affections. He exists only as long as he knows something someone else doesn't, but wants to; thus the perfect spy, imaged as a child seeking love from a loveless and self-aggrandizing series of fathers.

Le Carre structures his story around the Oedipal conflict between Rick and Pym. The continuing issues of Pym's dependence and conflict with superiors, and Pym's later emotional seduction by both Brotherhood and Axel, require that we accept this farfetched psychologizing. But despite the endless pages devoted to talk of Rick's life and of Pym's childhood, Rick remains a shadowy figure, whose magnetism must be accepted on faith. Pym is at once too complex and too simple a character for this kind of analysis to make sense.

### Mangled contradiction

At the same time, Pym's writing voice in his memoir is compelling, and the texture of his memory binds us to the England of his youth in a moving and powerful way. The rich wealth of language and cultural allusion tell of a man embedded in his times and society; the organizing principle of the plot tells another tale, of a man whose fate is determined from his earliest days by his father's flagrant lies. And Pym as a creation is mangled by these two contradictory interpretations.

Don't, however, mistake my arguments with *Spy* for disinterest. Le Carre is a brave, ambitious writer, always overreaching his skills in order to find out just what else is possible in the thriller form. Pym's memoir is a new, self-reflective departure for him: an effort to get inside the blood of a man encouraged to develop his criminality, and to make overt parallels between the spy and the novelist. Pym's double life of secrecy, duplicity and role-playing are like the multiple personalities of the writer. Both creatures nurture an emptiness that leaves them selfless and selfish, vulnerable yet above the grime, devoted while loveless, public when most hidden. Despite the length, despite the lapses and despite the fact that le Carre's own craft has for the moment outdone his psychological penetration, his curiosity about the void at the heart of imagination opens up a whole new world worth any spy's attention.

Paul Skenazy teaches literature at University of California-Santa Cruz and writes the monthly mystery column for the San Jose Mercury-News.



Nicole Farentz



# MEDIA B E A T

## Hear No Evil

Gramm-Rudman-Hollings has given government agencies an excuse to further reduce public information. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC), which long has charged for every piece of paper citizens request from its files, has now decided it's too expensive even to print in the Federal Register anything more than a cryptic summary of notices of its forthcoming actions. That ought to save the FCC the expense of handling citizen input into the rulemaking process from anywhere but law firms that can afford to find the story behind the summary. At the FCC (1919 M St., NW, Washington, DC 20566), they're convinced no one will notice; they say they'll change only "if we hear some screams."

Meanwhile, Congress is considering eliminating its service of mailing proposed legislation to curious citizens for free. If you think the new pennypinching is merely an accident of budget austerity, then Donna Demac's *Keeping America Uninformed: Government Secrecy in the 80s* (Pilgrim Press) is for you. The book methodically charts a radical new direction in government information policy, that attempts to narrow public access and thus control the issues of political debate. The author details changes in everything from the production of statistics to national library resources to the shrinking of congressional oversight. Demac makes a damning case that bureaucratic finagling is undercutting the basic raw material for democratic process: public information. And if you need to count the ways that the administration has stepped on the freedom of the press recently by limiting access to information, check out the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press checklist, "The Reagan Administration and the News Media," produced this March and available from 800 18th St., NW, #300, Washington, DC 20006.

## And Don't Forget, We're Paying for It

The cutback in citizen information doesn't mean a cutback in government PR. A Government Accounting Office (GAO) survey estimated that the cabinet and federal agencies spend about \$437 million dollars annually in public relations alone, and that's an estimate that many say doesn't even get you into the ballpark. The question, of course, is not just "how much," but "for what?" Last year when I researched the United States Information Agency's multimillion dollar adventure in new technologies to sell the administration's image—the retooling of propaganda into what is being called "public diplomacy"—the information officer eventually told me flat out that I had used enough of the government's public information services for a year, and he wouldn't hunt up any more facts for me. (The pressures of public diplomacy hardly leave time for idle chat; recall that the Voice of America aired a White House-written "editorial" "explaining" the Libyan bombing simultaneously with the bombing itself.) In this war for hearts and minds, the big money is, of course, in the military. The Pentagon runs, according to *Communications Watch*, an independent electronic media service provided by ex-FCC Commissioner Nicholas Johnson, "the largest media conglomerate in the world"; its staff of 1,000 spends \$100 million annually. Last week, the Defense Department premiered a new service. For the price of a phone call, you can dial up a recorded news summary, conveniently larded with "sound bites" of Defense Department officials, ready for taping. The news nuggets are not labelled; it's up to the radio or TV journalist to provide attribution. (And most would just as soon pretend they got the information themselves instead of from a "canned" PR service.) The service builds on precedent: the White House News Service's taxpayer-sponsored electronic news hotline. Now the truth according to the Pentagon is also only a dial tone away.

## A Business Like Any Other?

Broadcasting, Congress thought in 1934, was a very special kind of enterprise, because its product was information and because broadcasters transmit on a scarce resource owned by the public. The FCC's job was supposed to be to defend the public interest, something you'd be hard put to tell from Mark Fowler's FCC. At the National Association of Broadcasters meeting two weeks ago, Fowler finally came straight out and said it: broadcasters are not, for him, trustees of the public interest. "Trustees hold property for the care of another.... But you are *not* custodians.... Your calling is to the market, which is the people, and to the truth. You don't need, and shouldn't have, an FCC telling you how to run your business." Fowler's brashness got him applause, but not everyone is happy. Heavy trading in media properties has followed lifting of a rule requiring broadcast stations to be held a minimum of three years, spawning a submarket in dealmakers. (A few years ago there were only a handful, now there are more than 100. In the latest *Channels of Communication*, several of "Wall Street's Brat Pack" describe the million-dollar brokers' profits on the billion-dollar trading.) Some broadcasters hate the new merger-and-takeover game, fearing an unregulated free-for-all could ruin the game for everyone. Both Congressman Al Swift (D-WA) and FCC Commissioner James Quello are making noises that the three-year holding rule should come back. Quello said its repeal has attracted "a bunch of fast-buck artists"; the high-stakes trading, he argues, could destroy small media outlets and turn big ones into megamedia.

—Pat Aufderheide



# Hammer-lock rock

By Steve Perry

PROFESSIONAL WRESTLING is everywhere. It's the subject of comic books (in fact, the character Hulk Hogan is owned by the Marvel Comics Group) and Saturday morning cartoons. It's featured in records and heavy-rotation MTV videos. Now it's even making its way into rock clubs.

However well music and wrestling may sell as a commercial package, it's hard to imagine a more cynical reflection on the significance of rock music. It's a disastrous equation for the music involved, partly because the liaison with wrestling caters to the worst instincts of the arena rock mentality (the kind of thinking that gave rise to witless, overstated cock-rock posturing, smoke pots and lasers; in short, style at the expense of substance). And more importantly, because it mixes moral drama of two very different kinds.

As Roland Bathes demonstrated in his 1957 essay, "The World of Wrestling," wrestling constructs a formalist drama of good vs. evil, replete with comic exaggeration and subtexts of transgression and punishment. In good wrestling, every gesture is transparently clear in meaning, and every moral crisis is black and white. The best music, on the other hand, lives in gray spaces—between classes, generations, ethnic groups and musical traditions. Rock was spawned by precisely those tensions, but more broadly, mystery and ambiguity have always been near the center of music. It approaches those things that cannot simply be spoken, that cannot be made transparently clear.

Besides justifying most of the claims ever made about contemporary rock as cynical, profiteering product, the association with wrestling presents one more way to circumvent the quality of mystery that makes music demanding and enriching, and makes it essentially a Pavlovian inducement. It's comparable to the wholesale use of rock music in consumer advertising.

The rock connection is just the tip of the iceberg, though. Wrestling is probably the dramatic form closest to the pulse of 1980s America. The immediate clarity of every gesture in wrestling has manifest appeal for an electronic age filled with microwave ovens, 60-second news updates and remote-control units that can move through the entire video cosmos in a matter of seconds. Wrestling appeals both to the information age's hunger for immediately accessible meaning and the computer age's taste for unambiguous binary codes (good/evil, win/lose, violation/retribution).

Politically, wrestling works neatly as metaphoric amplification and ideological justification of the present administration. Cowboy metaphors can only take you so far in explaining Reagan-think, but wrestling comes close to encapsulating his entire worldview. From wrestling to Rambo, you don't have to look far to see the depths of our current obsession with the body-as-weapon; the wrestler's hulking physique may indeed be the best paradigm for contemporary America.

## Palpable force

The notion of American might it encompasses is clear enough, but beyond that the wrestler's body tacitly underlines the view that palpable force is what makes the world go round. There's also the comic analogy between the burlesque of torturous wrestling holds and the burlesque of '80s-style superpower arms negotiations, which is what makes Frankie Goes to Hollywood's "Two Tribes" video so compelling. In both cases, viewers understand that the elaborate maneuvers are themselves the meaning of the event, and aren't necessarily related to any larger outcome.

In a more insidious way, the modern cult of the body that runs from Sylvester Stallone to Rowdy Roddy Piper to your neighborhood health club makes sense of many of the right wing's political claims. Whenever an entire people is sym-

bolically encapsulated in the image of a body—a metaphor that reached its apex in European fascism—ugly conclusions follow. Censorship claims like those put forward by the Parents' Music Resource Center become intelligible on quasi-nutritional grounds: just as we seek to outlaw known carcinogens, we are justified in outlawing moral pollutants of the national body (remember the exhortations about "the cancer of communism" in years past?).

Likewise, the rumblings about quarantining gays becomes doubly justified in this view, since quarantining not only protects the body from the physical virus of AIDS, but from the moral virus of homosexuality as well. The wrestling match itself effectively frames the terms of Reagan-think. In the first sentence of this passage from Barthes' essay on wrestling, try substituting "the Reagan administration" for "wrestling": "What is portrayed by wrestling is...an ideal understanding of things; it is the euphoria of men raised for a while above the constitutive ambiguity of everyday situations and placed before the panoramic view of a univocal Nature, in which signs at last correspond to causes, without obstacle, without evasion, without contradiction." Or, as candidate Reagan put it during the 1980 presidential campaign, "I believe that there *are* simple answers."

These connections struck me hardest while I was re-reading Barthes' essay a few days ago. On the first page I came across this descriptive passage, which could as easily have been written last week about the Libyan incursion and the media's treatment of it: "The public is completely uninterested in knowing whether the contest is rigged or not, and rightly so; it abandons itself to the primary virtue of the spectacle, which is to abolish all motives and all consequences: what matters is not what it thinks but what it sees."

Steve Perry is a Minneapolis rock critic.



# Crafty

Continued from page 16  
to foreigners.

Mutiembai comes to Nairobi twice a month, riding two and a half hours in a crowded *matatu* (a small, ramshackle rural bus) to sell *kiondos* made by her *Kyaoni* ("bridge of friendship") women's group. A year of cooperative *kiondo* selling has improved the lives of Mutiembai and her neighbors in Kitui, a rugged, arid and agriculturally marginal area east of Nairobi. "Before many children had no clothes," she said. "Now we can buy them clothes, pay their school fees, get them enough food to eat."

Yet Kenyan women also know they could be doing much better and some are angry that they receive only a tiny fraction of the profit from *kiondo* sales.

Mutimebai was interviewed at the African Heritage Gallery, an extremely successful American-run retail and export shop on Nairobi's main downtown street, Kenyatta Avenue, near two major tourist hotels. She was waiting to sell her wares to the buyer at 25 to 50 shillings per *kiondo* (\$1.50-3.00).

Nearby, on the shop's main sales floor, at least 50 styles of *kiondos* are elegantly displayed on a fake "tree." They bear price tags ranging from 180 to 400 Kenya shillings (\$11-25). An upstairs boutique sells designer dresses, complemented by even higher-priced *kiondos* with matching accents.

Shops like African Heritage buy only the best *kiondos* and often insist on specific styles and colors. Those that don't meet their exacting standards must be sold at a "throw-away price" to streetcorner kiosks, said Mutiembai.

Last year's women's conference briefly connected *kiondo* makers like Mutiembai directly to the global market. Selling to the visitors on the streets of Nairobi, they often earned 120 shillings (\$7.50) or more per bag. Now, Mutiembai says, she and her neighbors would like to export directly or form a coop with other producer groups. Yet the Kenyan External Trade Authority (KETA) deliberately left the craftswomen out when it launched its current campaign to encourage crafts exports.

The sales campaign was launched late last year, when the European Economic Community funded an export-oriented National Handicrafts Exhibition at downtown Nairobi's lavish, 28-story Kenyatta International Conference Center. Craftspeople and the small, informal coops they have organized in villages across Kenya were not invited to exhibit, though KETA did admit a few charity agencies that sell crafts as part of their work aiding the poor.

The government made it clear that it wants commercial middlemen to dominate the export market. *Kiondo* makers won't

get government export help because most are unable "to acquire the marketing skills required for international business," a KETA official explained in the agency's official journal.

The exhibition's goal was "maximization of the foreign currency earnings," not more income for the women who make *kiondos*, according to the KETA official. He declared that the government will "ignore the equity considerations relating to apportionment of receipts between middleman exporters and producers."

For Kenyan women, that translates into keeping them in their place—poor and dependent. "It's not fair," says Mutiembai. "They make lots of money selling their *kiondos*...because we cannot wait for payment from overseas."

The ironies extend to the U.S., where small-scale marketers face tough competition. Linda Kimenderi, a black American

IN THESE TIMES MAY 14-20, 1986 15 married to a Kenyan, says her boutique in the Cleveland suburbs was one of the first shops in the Midwest to stock *kiondos* and other Kenyan crafts. But her sales plummeted when downtown department stores and nationwide chains like Pier 1—which specializes in imported goods—started selling the bags for less than she was paying to get them wholesale from New York importers.

To survive in this cut-throat market, she's now trying to buy direct in Kenya and wholesale African crafts to other small Midwestern retailers. But Kimenderi's problems—and the Kenyan producers'—don't end there. In addition, said Kimenderi, she must convince African craftswomen to forget their traditional styles and make *kiondos* designed for American tastes.

Carole Collins and Steve Askin are journalists who report regularly from Southern Africa.

## BEQUESTS

*In These Times* appreciates the bequests received from readers and supporters. These legacies (ranging from \$500 upward) have been a help to the paper's solvency and show a commitment for continuing *In These Times*' role of providing a left perspective on the news of today.

The following language is suggested for making a bequest: "I give to the Institute for Public Affairs, a California not-for-profit corporation, the sum of \$\_\_\_\_\_ to be used for the benefit of *In These Times*, whose address is 1300 West Belmont Ave., Chicago, IL 60657.

For more information please contact: *In These Times*, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657. Phone (312) 472-5700.

## CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$20.00 for one insertion, \$30.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

### NEW YORK, NY

#### May 18

Dr. Ernesto Kahan, Chairman of the Israeli Association of Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, will make a presentation entitled "A Search for Peace: The Need for a Nuclear Free World." Sunday, May 18, 12:00 p.m. \$50.00 per person (luncheon included) Roosevelt Hotel, 45th St. and Madison Ave. Sponsored by Americans for Progressive Israel. For more information, (212) 255-8760.

### BERKELEY, CA

#### June 13-15

Attend Third Annual Conference of National Central America Health Rights Network, workshops, speakers, media on Crisis in Health—C.A. and U.S. June 13-15, Berkeley, Calif. Information: CHRICA, 513 Valencia #6, San Francisco, CA, (415) 531-7760.

### PITTSBURGH, PA

#### June 20-29

Eighth Annual Marxist Literary Group Institute on Culture and Society: The Third World Under Erasure, Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh will address the ways in which a dominant discourse controls the representation of cultural and political difference. Other foci: feminism, film and popular media, political pressure against academic leftists. Participants: Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Michael Sprinker, Jonathan Arac, Julia Lesage, Barbara Foley, et al. Write or call Jim Kavanagh, English, Carnegie-Mellon, Pittsburgh, PA 15213, (412) 268-2850.

## CLASSIFIED

### HELP WANTED

**ALTERNATIVE JOBS / INTERNSHIP** opportunities! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nation-wide listings—\$3. Community Jobs, Box 429, 1520 16th St., NW, Washington, DC 20036.

**GOVERNMENT JOBS** \$16,040-\$59,230/yr. Now Hiring. Call 1-805 687-6000, Ext. R-2440 for current federal list.

**PROJECT COORDINATOR**—Active, union-oriented organization in NYC is seeking individual with union background. Energy, initiative and ability with detail work important. Send resume and references to: Workers Defense League, Inc., 15 Union Square, NY, NY 10003. Attn: C. Lewis.

**TRAINER, CONSULT** with social change groups in Idaho, Mont. and Wyo. in organization building skills. Full time. Travel and car required. \$17,000 to \$20,000 depending on qualifications. Northern Rockies Action Group, 9 Placer, Helena, MT 59601.

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3944. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-761-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

### STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

4 hours of classes daily. Meetings with political leaders. Family living and community work. Apply now for August, September and October sessions. Call (212) 277-1197 or write to Casa Nicaraguense, 855 Broadway, Room 2110, New York, NY 10005.

**IN THESE TIMES DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANT.** Heavy clerical (typing letters, computer input, recording contributions, organizing files, data collection and other tasks as assigned by Assistant Publisher). Contact R. Medley at (312) 472-5700 for interview. Bring resume. 20 hours per week, \$6 per hour.

### PUBLICATIONS

**SAMPLE COPY** "American Atheist" magazine. \$1.00 to American Atheist Center, P.O. Box 2117, Austin, TX 78768.

**GAY COMMUNITY NEWS**—"The gay movement's newspaper of record." Each week GCN brings you current informative news and analysis of lesbian and gay liberation. Feminist, non-profit. AND there's a monthly Book Review Supplement. Now in our 12th year. \$29.00 for the year (50 issues). \$17.00 for 25 weeks. Send check to GCN Subscriptions, Suite 509, 167 Tremont St., Boston, MA 02111.

**BACK ISSUES OF MOTHER JONES** magazine. 1976-1979. Send SASE for complete list to: M. Grosse, 1320 Wrightwood, Chicago, IL 60614.

Engineers, Technicians, Businesspeople, Computer Professionals, Mechanics, etc., **NICARAGUA NEEDS YOU!** Volunteers are urgently needed for 2-week training and consulting positions in various governmental and non-governmental agencies. Trips leave every month. Please contact: **tecNICA**, Dept. I, 2727 College Avenue Berkeley, CA 94705 415-848-0292

### The 75th American Exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago

16 Men  
4 Women

A Public Service Message From **GUERRILLA GIRLS/CHICAGO** Conscience of the Art World

Please send donations to fund actions aimed at eliminating sexism in the art world to PC Box GG, c/o ITT, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

**JEWISH CURRENTS**, May, 1986 issue. "Reagan's Libyan Adventure," editorial; "Israel, Nicaragua and the PLO," Paul Tick; "Chomsky's Anti-Israel Bias," Michael Marcus; "Franco and the Jews," Irving Weissman; "Gay Jews, Straight Laws," Carol Jochnowitz. Single copy: \$1.25 plus 75¢ postage. Subscription: \$12 yearly (USA). **JEWISH CURRENTS**, Dept. T, Suite 601, 22 E. 17 St., NY, NY 10003.

### HOMES

**GOVERNMENT HOMES**—From \$1.00 (U Repair). Also delinquent tax property. Call 1-805 687-6000, Ext. GH-2400 for information.

### PERSONALS

**MEET OTHER LEFT SINGLES** through Concerned Singles Newsletter. All areas. Sample: \$1.00. P.O. Box 7737-T, Berkeley, CA 94707.

**BLACK, SINGLE, romantic male.** 32 years old. 5'10", 168 lbs. Currently incarcerated, due to be released

soon. Seeks a very serious and sincere female for a warm and intimate friendship. Nationality, age, weight, unimportant. Write to: Mr. John W. James, #83A3187, Drawer B, Stormville, NY 12582.

### ATTENTION

**MOVING?** Let *In These Times* be the first to know. Send us a current label from your newspaper along with your new address. Please allow 4-6 weeks to process the change. Send to: *In These Times*, Circulation Dept., 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.

### TRAVEL

**'THE SOVIET UNION IN DEPTH AND BREADTH.'** 21-day, expertly guided Study-Tour: Leningrad, Yerevan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Siberia, Moscow. Two-day preparatory Teach-In: Kent University, Canterbury, England. July 9-30: \$2,890; Pan Am, New York. Parrys (904) 378-4067. Box 15778, Gainesville, FL 32604.

**COSTA RICA:** Room/Board, one-two rooms, two miles to University. Box 191, Fredonia, NY 14063.

## RWP/Shaffer ASSOCIATES

INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES

174-03 Horace Harding Expressway  
P.O. Box 166  
Fresh Meadows, New York 11365 -0166

(516) 466-6600

(718) 357-6688

## In These Times Classified Ads Grab Attention



...and work like your own sales force. Your message will reach 96,000 responsive readers each week (72% made a mail order purchase last year). ITT classes deliver a big response for a little cost.

### Word Rates:

80¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues  
70¢ per word / 3-5 issues  
65¢ per word / 6-9 issues  
60¢ per word / 10-19 issues  
50¢ per word / 20 or more issues

### Display Inch Rates:

\$22 per inch / 1 or 2 issues  
\$20 per inch / 3-5 issues  
\$18 per inch / 6-9 issues  
\$16 per inch / 10-19 issues  
\$13 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified advertising must be prepaid. Advertising deadline is Wednesday, 14 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday.

Enclosed is my check for \$\_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ week[s].

Please indicate desired heading \_\_\_\_\_

Advertiser \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send to:  
**IN THESE TIMES**, Classified Ads, 1300 W. Belmont, Chicago, IL 60657.



By Carole Collins &amp; Steve Askin

NAIROBI, KENYA

ONE OF THE MORE PECULIAR spin-offs from America's gradually rising awareness of Africa is a sudden boom in U.S. sales of African hand-

crafts.

Kenyan handbags, West African carvings and other handcrafts previously available only in a handful of specialty shops have found their way into mass market retail chains like J.C. Penney's and such upscale department stores as New York's Bloomingdale's. Kenya, one of the leading exporters, has at least quadrupled its handcraft sales to the U.S. since 1983.

American importers say the most popular items are colorful, flexible, hand-woven baskets known as *kiondos*, now widely sold in the U.S. as women's handbags. Making these bags is part of the daily rhythm of life for many of Kenya's hardworking rural women. To earn a little cash, they somehow find space—in a 16-hour workday of farming, herding, cooking, water carrying and childcare—to weave long strands of sisal into intricate and sturdy carry-alls.

Now that crafts are big business, a new question arises: who will reap the profits? In Kenya, an East African nation much praised by the U.S. because its government has chosen the capitalist road to development, the answer is clear. Most of the money will flow to export entrepreneurs and their U.S. clients, leaving a pittance for the craftswomen themselves.

Ironically, it was a meeting designed to advance the condition of Third World women—the UN Women's Decade conference in Nairobi last July—that built the mass market for *kiondos* in the U.S. and Western Europe. Women from around the world were introduced to the intricate designs and rugged construction of the baskets traditionally used to carry goods to and from market. Those who took them home as purses or gifts provided unparalleled free advertising. Within months after the conference, U.S. importers descended on Nairobi in force.

Handcrafts remain a small element—little more than 1 percent—in the Kenyan export economy, but they are by far its fastest growing segment. And they are the only part readily accessible to village women.

The word *kiondo* comes from the language of Kenya's largest tribe, the Kikuyu. But most Kenyans and foreign buyers agree that Kamba women, from Kenya's fourth largest tribe, make the bulk of *kiondos*—and the best. The *kiondo* makers are women like retired prison warden Freda Kaviti Mutiambai, the 53-year-old widow of a Kamba chief. "Making *kiondos* is a traditional skill," she said. "It's almost a qualification for marriage."

#### A preference for plastic

*Kiondo* making is rarely a full-time occupation. "My real job is looking after my family and working in the *mashamba* [garden]," said Mutiambai. Because weaving must be squeezed in between other daily tasks, it takes her a week to make one sisal bag. "If I didn't have to do all this other work I could make three big *kiondos* a day," she estimates.

Other than time, *kiondos* don't cost a lot to make. The most important raw material, sisal handspun into strands for weaving, was planted to mark land boundaries during colonial times. It now grows wild throughout Kenya and can be harvested for free. Coloring comes from natural sources: bright wild flowers, charcoal black and various roots, all carefully boiled to extract a rainbow of shades and colors.

While natural materials are most popular with tourists and foreign buyers, many Kenyans prefer modern synthetics. "Those we make for sale in Nairobi have different colors" than the *kiondos* used at home, Mutiambai said. "We like *kiondos* made with artificial materials, like plastic, because they are bright." But the "shouting colors" preferred by Kenyans don't sell well

Continued on page 15

# CRAFTY CAPITALISM



*Kenyan handbags became a hot export item after the Nairobi women's conference. But who gets the profits?*